

# Cambodia's Fight For Recognition

by Gaffar Peang - Meth

In 1955, the Khmer state became a member of the United Nations. A faithful follower of the principles of the United Nations Charter, those of international law and all the international agreements to which it has subscribed, the Khmer Republic has respected the rights of all legal governments in conformity with these international principles.

In the 1960's, the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong, long known for their expansionist design and their determination to fulfill the "testament of Ho Chi Minh," began their quiet invasion of Khmer land with the complicity of the Khmer's former despotic ruler, Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

Through their representatives in the Parliament, the Khmer people withdrew their confidence from Sihanouk. At this, the silent invasion became overt aggression by the North Vietnamese and Vietcong against the Khmer State.

The consistent policy of the Khmer Government has been, and remains to advocate peaceful settlement of the Khmer conflict: all foreign troops must be withdrawn from Khmer soil so the Khmers may be allowed to solve their internal affairs without foreign interference.

Despite the savage enemy attack against the Khmer Republic, the Khmer Government presented a concrete six-point peace proposal on July 6, 1973 calling for: 1) strict and immediate implementation by all parties of the Paris Peace Agreements of January 27, 1973; 2) an immediate withdrawal from Khmer territory of all foreign troops and their armaments and

munitions; 3) the reactivation of the International Commission for Supervision and Control; 4) an immediate cease-fire among the forces of all parties; 5) a talk with a Khmer Delegation of the other side to achieve a cessation of hostilities and national reconciliation, and 6) the assistance from all peace and justice-loving countries, in particular, the signatory states of the Final Act of the Paris Peace Conference, and the UN Secretary General, to obtain from all parties concerned strict application of Article 20 of the Paris Peace Agreements.

On September 24, 1973, the Khmer Republic issued a declaration reaffirming the Khmer desire for peace based on the January 27 Paris Peace Agreements and renewing the July 6 six-point peace proposal.

## Deaf Ear

To the distress of the peace-loving Khmer people a part of international public opinion has been misled by the mischievous propaganda of the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong aggressors and their followers. Regardless of the just cause of the Khmers and their desire for peace - wanting nothing more than to live in peace within their own territory, under their own form of government, following their own way of life - this part of international public opinion turns a deaf ear to the fate of the Khmer people.

Thus at the 28th session of the U.N. General Assembly, the People's Republic of China and a number of "non-aligned" states

have made shameless efforts to bring the issue of the legitimacy of the Government of the Khmer Republic to the floor of the Assembly. These countries pretend that the exiled government of Prince Sihanouk - which has no base on Khmer soil and whose members are scattered in foreign capitals - is the legal representative of the Khmer people and therefore must replace the Khmer Republic at the United Nations.

## Who is Sihanouk?

Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who enjoyed thirty years of power in various capacities, was a despotic ruler who was removed from his functions as Chief of State on March 18, 1973 by the two Houses of Parliament.

A major reason for his dismissal was his personal authorization of the illegal installation of North Vietnamese and Vietcong military bases (sanctuaries) on Khmer soil in violation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, Khmer independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity.

Angered by the Parliament's decision, the Prince asked the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong to regain power for him by force - and he proclaimed his willingness to transform his country into a communist state. "We will continue to fight, fight and fight until final victory even if this takes 10 years or more," he told Reuters on July 13, 1973. A skillful demagogue, Sihanouk was convincing to his more gullible listeners.

It was not long before Sihanouk's public statements began to vacillate: a man who declared in

Peking on September 26, 1970 "I am giving everything to the Red Khmers. They are pure. They will do what is necessary for the people. They are patriots. They will keep Cambodia independent," now told Oriana Fallaci of the New York Times Magazine (August 12, 1973): "The Khmer Rouge do not love me at all. I know it...I understand very well that when I am no longer useful to them, they'll spit me out like a cherry pit."

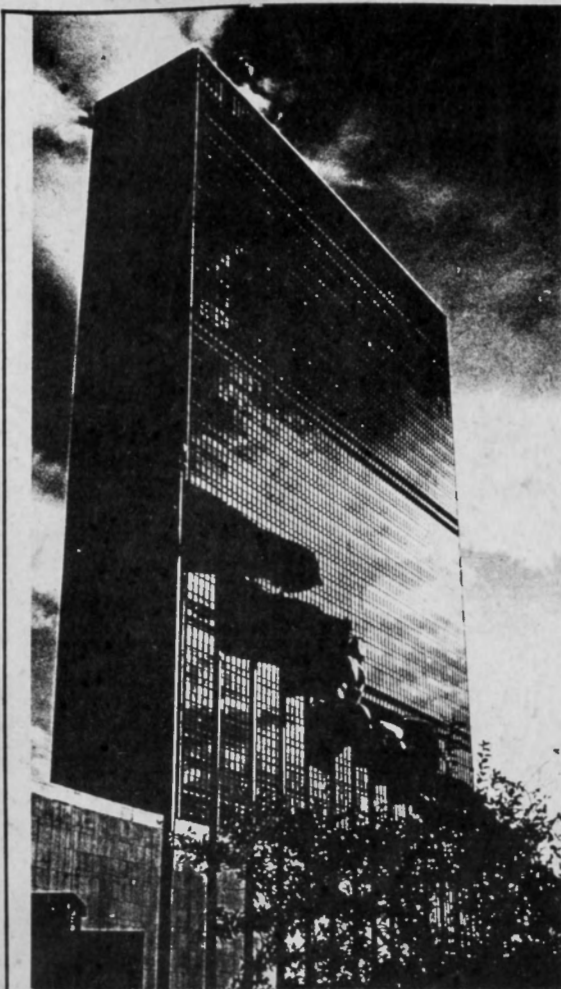
On September 6, 1973, Sihanouk told Sylvana Foa of UPI: "My role in the country is ended once the whole of Cambodia is liberated." He continued: "I shall let the Khmer Rouge run the country and I shall not interfere. Even if I wanted to oppose them and not let them be the only masters, it is too late for they are too strong."

Ieng Sary, a Khmer insurgent leader, admitted that Prince Sihanouk was perfectly correct: "Sihanouk is one of those aspects of Cambodian tradition, we will phase out those aspects we do not consider to be progressive and revolutionary as our nation and people evolve."

Then, on September 17, 1973, Sihanouk, who earlier spoke freely of "final victory" told T.D. Allman in Algiers, that "I have no more reason to be optimistic," and that "Lon Nol will be able to stay many years in Phnom Penh."

"We will not take Phnom Penh this year, nor next year, or for many years" and Sihanouk emphasized: "At the moment we cannot take any major town. I must be frank."

(Continued on page 7)



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# The Rising Tide

"...America's fastest growing freedom newspaper"

Vol. 3, No. 21

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## Rising Tide Wins National Award

On October 27 the *Rising Tide* was presented the 1973 Freedom Award of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation at their commemoration of the 17th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution. The award, presented in the past to Richard Nixon, Senators Dodd and Dirksen, David Brinkley, and David Lawrence, is "for consum-

mate skill, insight and clarity in bringing to others the ethical, moral, practical and theoretical foundations for understanding the principles of freedom, liberty and constitutional government, particularly for the articulate advocacy of the undeniable right of the Hungarian People to self-determination and for the promulgation of the Federation's objectives and accomplish-

ments."

In presenting the award, Federation president Andras Pogany said:

"This year, a year of disillusion, disappointment and self-delusion for America; a year when we had the opportunity to watch the Soviet red flag with its hammer and sickle unfurl in front of the White House in Washington, D.C., we turned our attention to our last hope, to the American youth. You will remember that since 1960 many important and influential personalities have received our Federation's Freedom Award: politicians, diplomats, newsmen and television personalities, outstanding benefactors both Americans and foreigners who in a given year made the most significant contribution to efforts for restoration of freedom and human dignity in Hungary.

"This year we unanimously

selected the only outstanding group of Americans whose activities were not shadowed by the present detente hysteria. We selected the staff and editorial board of the Washington paper, the *Rising Tide*. I can say without exaggeration, that there was and there is no American publication presenting the case of the Hungarian people and continuously reporting the activities of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation to the American public. This distinguished group of young women and men represents for us the unblemished and unspoiled real spirit of America. Their dedication and intellectual honesty as well as their professional skill are impressive indeed. The *Rising Tide* cannot yet claim a tremendously large circulation, but if it does not master the American present, yet we pray that it shows us an

American future based on principles, tradition, and love of freedom, like the *Rising Tide* of our days.

"For this reason, even in this sorrowful year, we are sincerely glad and honored to bestow our Freedom Award of 1973 to the editors and staff of the *Rising Tide* and through them to the unblemished faith and good-will of the youth of America."

*Rising Tide* editor Louise Berry stressed the inspiration given to the *Rising Tide* staff by the freedom fighters of 1956 in her acceptance of the award. "I hope that we can demonstrate one particle of the faith you put into action in 1956," she said.

The anniversary celebration included remarks by co-president Istran Gereben and an informal speech by Congressman William Scherle, a former award recipient (see also page 5.)



Former *Rising Tide* editor Dan Fefferman shows latest issue to Laszlo Pajtor, Chairman of National Republican Heritage Groups Council.

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# What We Must Do

by Neil Salonen  
President,  
Freedom Leadership  
Foundation

Our government has undergone greater crisis in the past several months than ever before in its history—with the exception of the separation of the union during our civil war. Agnew's resignation, the Watergate crisis, indictment of former government officials and even the prospect of the President being impeached demonstrate clearly the lack of moral leadership in our country. This breakdown in virtuous leadership is affecting both political parties. The humiliating defeat dealt to the Democrats in the last election was due largely to its compromising, immoral, and weak platform which the electorate overwhelmingly rejected. The Democrats are badly divided between the intellectual elitists and the workingman who wants more realistic answers, while the Republicans are in complete disarray with financial kickbacks, Machiavellianism, resignations and Watergate.

Many self-righteous stones have been cast, but all in the wrong direction. Politicians are busy accusing each other of what they have all been fostering for years—political expediency at the sacrifice of moral commitment.

Never before has our government been filled with so many men unwilling to take a strong moral stand on the great issues that confront us. Rather than progressing forward with their eyes affixed on God, they have been slowly sinking into poll-watching. The irony of the whole thing is that the people

are crying out for moral leadership, yet the politicians themselves are looking to see what new adventurous fad, headline maker, or columnist rhetoric can guide them in deciding what is important. It has become a sorry cycle of leaders and voters asking each other: "What is the right thing to do?" with no one willing to make a commitment.

In a sense, political leaders cannot be completely blamed because they are really only a product of the society itself. Democracy works only too well because we usually end up getting exactly what we deserve.

The current crisis in our leadership is not one for the government or the Republican and Democratic parties only. It has become a

judgment day for all of us.

The source of our problem is really a simple one. Both government and people, but especially government, have too greatly compromised away the spiritual, moral, and ethical principles from which our nation was born.

Those who came to this nation seeking only wealth failed miserably in their quest at Jamestown. Yet those who came believing in God and living and dying for God, created the firm foundation for a great and free nation. The great men who led our fight for independence like Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, and many others were men of deep faith in God. They sacrificed their fortunes, honor, and even their lives in the quest of establishing a society where men "are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights..."

We call ourselves a Christian nation, yet most politicians and churches alike ignore the tremendous persecution of believers of all religious faiths in Communist nations. While brave men like Solzhenitsyn, Sakharov and Bukovsky risk their lives to awaken our consciences, we respond instead with deaf ears.

"Detente" has become a cheap and almost shameful term. We have been seeking peace in the world at the expense of those things that truly make for peace. Can man live in peace when their freedoms are abused—where they are thrown into mental institutions because they love God and are for-

ced to believe in a materialistic doctrine which completely denies all values and morality? Can peace exist without love and selfless concern for human beings? No, it cannot. And it is precisely those—the Communists—who exploit human beings for their own purposes that are the greatest enemies to peace.

The moral crisis in America is merely the reflection of the immoral manner with which we have conducted our foreign policy abroad. There is little difference between what happened with Watergate and the unjust blow dealt to the Republic of China through its expulsion from the U.N. In each case the cause was the same—the sacrifice of moral commitment for the sake of political expediency.

If we are to find ourselves again and become an instrument of hope to mankind, then we must fill ourselves with a zealous commitment to the moral principles which are rooted in our religious beliefs. Furthermore, we must recognize the universality of such principles and apply them abroad as well as at home. We cannot do one or the other—either we do both or none at all. The best expression of this fundamental truth was expressed by Alexis de Toqueville, who prophetically stated "America is great because America is good, and if America ceases to be good, America will cease to be great." The time is long past when our political leaders should begin to heed such words.



## New York Times Upholds Cambodia

### CAMBODIAN INTERVENTION

The effort by China and a group of "nonaligned" nations to seat the exiled regime of Prince Norodom Sihanouk at the United Nations in place of the Cambodian Government of President Lon Nol represents flagrant intervention in the internal affairs of a member state. This is a clear violation of the U.N. Charter.

If the General Assembly should be so short-sighted as to go along with this mischievous Chinese gambit it would set a precedent that could embroil the world organization incessantly in domestic political quarrels and civil wars all over the globe. Have governments which blindly support the Sihanouk move in the name of nonaligned unity considered the

possible implications for themselves of this precedent? Do they really want to establish a procedure that would allow international politics, rather than domestic preference, determine the question of legitimacy when an established national government is challenged by a rival faction, based in the capital of a foreign big power?

The bid to unseat Lon Nol violates the spirit as well as the letter of the Charter because it can only further complicate ongoing efforts to promote a political accommodation that will end the tragic conflict there. If the General Assembly must intervene, it should use its influence for peace by calling on both parties to stop fighting and start negotiating.—*The New York Times, Monday, October 29, 1973; 34 - C.*

### Ambassade De La Republique Khmere Aux Etats-Unis



October 30, 1973

Mr. John B. Oakes  
Editorial Page Editor  
*The New York Times*  
229 West 43rd Street  
New York, New York 10036

Dear Sir:

You should be congratulated for your comprehensive editorial "Cambodian Intervention" (*N.Y. Times*, October 29) which dealt with the "flagrant intervention in the internal affairs" of the Khmer Republic, a UN member state, in "a clear violation of the U.N. Charter" by China and a group of the "nonaligned" countries.

While you were correct to speak of the "mischievous Chinese gambit" as setting "a precedent that could embroil the world organization incessantly in domestic political quarrels and civil wars all over the globe," it should be added that the Khmer Government is the sole legal representative of the Khmer people.

In fact, the Khmer Republic is founded on democratic and popular bases: on April 30, 1972, our Constitution was adopted in a national referendum in which more than 80% of the population participated; on June 4, our first president was elected by universal, direct suffrage. On September 3 and 17, the first Assembly and Senate were elected respectively.

The Khmer Republic follows a policy of peace, independence and neutrality and maintains diplomatic and consular relations with 55 countries regardless of their system of government or ideology. Follower of the U.N. Charter and international agreements, Cambodia is represented in 27 of the international, regional and specialized agencies of the U.N.

Despite the Chinese effort, we retain faith in the U.N. and we believe that the General Assembly will continue to defend the principles of law and justice in the world and the rights of all legal governments.

Prince Sihanouk, who heads a government-in-exile in Peking, has recently conceded that the regime of President Lon Nol is firmly in control of the Government in Phnom Penh, and that he sees little chance that he, Sihanouk, will ever be able to return to the Khmer country. How can Sihanouk's "followers" thus lay claim to the seat of the GKR at the U.N.?

As your esteemed paper has said, the role of the U.N. should be to "use its influence for peace by calling on both parties to stop fighting and start negotiating." This is precisely what our Government desires.

A. Gaffar Peang-Meth  
Press Attache

## Nature of the Soviet "Union"

By Ray Mas

The Kremlin has been all too eager to point out that the wave of nationalism was a predictable worldwide phenomenon. Soviet ideologists look to the emergence of black and Indian militancy in the United States, French speaking separatists in Canada, Basque guerillas in Spain and the Ulster riots as unavoidable products of capitalism, foreseen by Marx and Lenin. Yet, how does the Kremlin explain its nationalist problems? Very simply. It ignores them and prefers instead to paint a rosy picture as did Leonid Brezhnev in 1967.

"The unity of the multi-national Soviet people is as solid as a diamond. As a diamond sparkles with multicolored facets, so does the unity of our people scintillate with diversity of nations, each of which lives a rich, full blooded free and happy life."

Yet behind this screen of glowing propaganda lies a simmering melting pot which many observers see as the beginnings of a "nationalist explosion" in the U.S.S.R. Faced with this, it is plain that Lenin's dream of national unity through Marxism has failed. In this paper we have attempted to give a full picture of the plight of the Ukrainian and Jews in the Soviet Union. Yet little is heard about such republics as Uzbekistan, Kazakistan, Azerbaidzhan, Armenia and Georgia. All these republics have seen nationalist demonstrations of one sort or another in recent years. Indeed, half of the political prisoners in Soviet concentration camps are so-called "bourgeois nationalists"—mostly Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians and Ukrainians. Ironically, it was the Bolshevik

revolution itself which unleashed national feelings long suppressed by Tsarist rule. Upon seizing power Lenin declared the right of all minorities to self-determination and overtly displayed great tolerance. The Ukrainians were given back their national banners and relics which had been held in St. Petersburg. To the Muslims were returned the sacred Koran of Osman which the Tsars had locked up in the Imperial State Library. In Kazan, the Tartars were encouraged to restore the symbol of the crescent atop the city's Sumbeki Tower, an ancient Tartar monument.

Yet the tolerance so freely displayed then was quickly abolished when the Soviet's had firmly established their authority. Since then, Soviet national policy has ranged from national coexistence to extreme Russification.

### Crimean Tartars

For the most part, though, Soviet national policy has been a policy of repression to such wanton extremes as the stifling of the Crimean Tartars. A Turkic-Mongol people of Islamic faith, the Tartars were deported in 1944 from their native Crimean autonomous Soviet socialist republic to scattered areas of Russian frozen wasteland in Siberia, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan—allegedly for collaborating with the Nazis.

The collaboration of some Crimean Tartars with the Germans seems, however, to have merely served as an excuse for Stalin to rid himself of a headache. As Moslems and mountaineers, the Tartars displayed a strong sense of historical and cultural unity which neither the Tsars nor the Soviets were able to shatter. For two decades they sac-

cessfully fought Soviet influence; for Stalin, that was long enough.

The result was a forced evacuation within only one month, causing incalculable hardship, suffering, and the deaths of thousands of Tartars in concentration camps or during subhuman conditions of the journey.

It took the Supreme Soviet until 1967 to exonerate the Crimean Tartars. Yet, it was a largely hollow act. It failed to re-establish the Crimean A.S.S.R. and referred to the Crimean Tartars as part of the U.S.S.R. as "citizens of Tartar nationality who used to live in the Crimea." Since then, this discrimination has been the focus of a growing surge of discontent. Trials, protests, and repression have occurred by the score. General Pytor Grigorenko, until his arrest, was an ardent supporter of the Crimean cause. In July, 1969, ten prominent Crimean Tartar protestors, among them Rollan Kadiyev, a brilliant thirty-year-old physicist who has made important contributions in the field of relativity theory, were put on trial for anti-Soviet slander. Grigorenko quickly came to their defense but was arrested before their trial began. The defendants were sentenced to terms of up to three years maximum, and Grigorenko to date remains in a psychiatric hospital. For the Crimean Tartars it has been a struggle of intense suffering, yet they appear determined to pursue their quest for justice.

Notwithstanding, the plight of the Crimean Tartars is only representative of the plight of tens of thousands in the Soviet Union. It is a clear illustration of the abject failure of Marxism to foster unity as well as an ominous threat to the hegemony of the Kremlin leadership.

## Soviet Jews Appeal To Congress

To: The Congress of the United States

You will be taking a decision on which our fate will depend. Therefore we consider it our duty to express with all clarity our appraisal of the situation and our position.

Some circles in the West claim that the Soviet Jews apply for emigration to Israel are afraid that they will be subjected to repressions

national affairs of the USSR and would only hinder the development of trade and cooperation and, consequently, the relaxation of tension throughout the world. We categorically disagree with such statements.

"Quiet diplomacy" has not yet brought about any tangible results. The lists of names of Soviet Jews denied permission to emigrate

What does the Amendment speak about? Only that the Soviet Union should observe its constitution and the General Declaration on Human Rights which it signed. Can the recognition of our personal rights, which you consider to be elementary and vitally necessary for yourself, be a hindrance to the development of freedom among nations?

This is our answer to those who say that we fear intensification of repression against us by Soviet officials in revenge for U.S. Congressional passage of the Amendment of the Trade Bill. Only we ourselves have the moral right to control our fate. We stand for a consistent, open fight of principle for our civil rights. Fears for our personal security resulting from humanitarian feelings of the American people would never be a reason for giving up this struggle. The refusal of the representatives of the American people to pass the Amendment would be a deviation from the noble principles of true humanitarianism—a capitulation to unscrupulous blackmail, and a first step in the chain of further retreats.

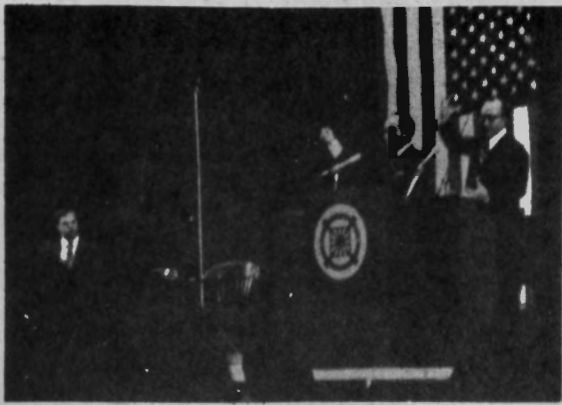
(signed by Jews from Moscow and Vilnius)



if the Congress passes the Jackson/Mills-Vánik Amendment to the Trade Bill, and that the emigration will stop. It is also claimed that the Amendment constitutes an intervention in the inter-

brought to Moscow by the American Administration remains unattended. The revocation of the education tax was not a result of "quiet diplomacy" but rather a result of open and wide protests.

# "New Hope for America" Draws Crowds



Rev. Moon (center) with Bo Hi Pak translating.

About three to four thousand persons attended the "Christianity in Crisis: New Hope" lecture series of Reverend Sun Myung Moon of Seoul, Korea, in Washington, D.C., on October 20, 21, and 23. Reverend Moon, founder of the International Federation for Victory over Communism (IFVC) and its American affiliate, the Freedom Leadership Foundation, and the International Unification Church, is a renowned Christian leader becoming increasingly respected in responsible counter-Communist circles. In his second speech, entitled "God's Hope for America," he clearly outlined what he saw as the principles of the spiritual confrontation between democracy and Communism.

The evening started with opening remarks by Mr. Neil A. Salomen, president of the Freedom Leadership Foundation, who gave an overview of the far-ranging activities of Reverend Moon's organizations, from church paramedical teams

reaching out-of-the-way spots throughout Korea to sponsoring the World Anti-Communist League convention in Japan. Mr. Salomen then read from congratulatory telegrams to Reverend Moon from Mayor Lindsay of New York ("New York appreciates the contribution of the Unification Church to the life of our great city..."), Mayor Shaeffer of Baltimore, Mayor Washington of the District of Columbia, Congressman Mailliard and Ichord, Senators Humphrey, Proxmire, Beall, Brock, Moss, Montoya, Hansen, Nelson, and Senator Tunney of California, who wrote "I regret that I cannot be present on October 19th to join other members of the Washington community in paying tribute to you and your efforts in bringing the world together through the Christian teachings of love and unity. Best wishes and success on your present tour of the United States."

Then Reverend Moon took the podium and began by making some

Biblical allusions showing the historicity of God's plan for man. God, he indicated, sought His champions among men of absolute faith, fulfilling their missions in the face of impossible odds. He mentioned Noah, Abraham, Jacob and John the Baptist as illustrations of the principle of God choosing men of unshakable trust. Jesus, too, Reverend Moon said, had to pursue a course of trials and troubles within his own family and from the world at large, persevering to the ultimate sacrifice with staunch faith in his purpose. The righteous men of God, Reverend Moon stated, were those who were ready to give everything they had, not merely for themselves but for the sake of the whole world; this was a rudimentary part of God's way with man: sacrifice the lesser for the sake of the greater. "If we Christians today," he said, "believe that our speaking and seeking goes only after 'my salvation, my heaven, and my well-being,' then we are not matching the purpose of God. If we are concerned only with the salvation of 'my own family,' then we are not worthy of God's blessing."

Reflecting on the bounteous blessing of America, Reverend Moon said, "The medieval Papacy and Christianity in general in Europe became corrupted, really disintegrated in spirit, and they really forgot the ultimate purpose of God of world salvation. Medieval church hierarchies were interested in their own power, their own interests and well-being, preserving their power for their own benefits. Yet they were the ones who were to give themselves for the greater salvation of the world. They were in the position of following the mission of Jesus, who gave himself up for the world, but this spirit was absolutely lacking," Reverend Moon stated

that God has a definite goal for the world that must be achieved by the people He appoints to achieve it; if they desert Him, He must turn to others who can fulfill His purpose. So, Reverend Moon said the revolution of churches occurred, led by Martin Luther, to reestablish the lost union between the churches and God's design for man. This, too, according to Reverend Moon, was the cause of the flight of the early Pilgrims to the American continent. "It was inevitable for them," he said, "that they would go there longing for some new world, some new heaven and earth where they could truly worship God with the freedom that they desired."

Referring to the American revolution, Reverend Moon said, "Let us examine the people who led the fight for independence in 1776. Those who dreamed of independence for the colonies were traitors in the eyes of the British crown. Yet God used those 'traitors' as His instrument, His people, and He conceived and built the best nation on the face of the earth." He went on to compare George Washington to David in his battle against the giant Goliath, saying that David overcame an invincible foe because of his absolute reliance on God; in the same way, Washington "had only one weapon: his faith in God." Because of the fierce dedication of Washington and the early Americans, God could accept their prayers and their pledge to build one nation under God, Reverend Moon said, so God could give victory to the emerging country not for its own sake but so that it could become God's nation to offer to the world.

"Today, therefore," Reverend Moon challenged his audience, "America must not think that it is its wealth that makes it great; it is

you, yourselves, who make it great. We must humbly realize that the blessing of God came to America with the sole purpose of using this nation as His instrument to save the world. If God cannot use America, then where in this world can He go?" Reverend Moon then addressed himself to the danger America faces in what he pointed to as its spiritual responsibility: "If America throws God away, where can God go to fulfill His aim? Do you want Him to go to the Communist world or the underdeveloped countries? God wants to have America as His base. His champion; America was born with the spirit and tradition of sacrifice for God's purpose, and we therefore must live up to that tradition. The time has come for this nation, the American people, to be awakened. If you betray God, America's only alternative course is for disaster."

We reap what we sow, Reverend Moon reminded his listeners, saying that this is the day of reaping those

things sown at the time of Jesus, he described Jesus as the essence, the seed of truth, and we reap now what was sown by the circumstances of His life and death; because He died in suffering on the cross amid betrayal and misunderstanding, our day, Reverend Moon claims, will see the same spiritual chaos when the Lord returns through the cross. This is part of the significance behind the struggle between the free world and Communism, the Reverend stated, continuing. "The Communists say there is no God, and the free world says that there is. Why do we call the democratic world 'right' and the Communist element 'left'? Where did this terminology come from? This is a manifestation of the scene of Jesus' crucifixion, which set the path of the years to come -- there was the right-hand thief, which came to be represented by the democratic world, and the left-hand thief, later seen in the Communist world. The thief on the left condemned Jesus even on the cross, saying, 'if you are

(Continued on page 8)



Section of audience at Lisner auditorium

## Banquet Opens Successful Campaign

The Freedom Leadership Foundation passed a new milestone in success and recognition last month as hundreds of leading Washington area citizens assembled to honor the work of FLF's founder, the Reverend Sun Myung Moon, at the 1973 "Day of Hope" Dinner at the Statler Hilton Hotel.

Guest speaker at the Dinner was His Excellency Um Sim, Ambassador of the Khmer Republic. Ambassador Um flew in for the event from New York, where the Cambodian question was being debated at the United Nations. Speaking of the members of the Freedom Leadership Foundation, Mr. Um said that their "simple but plentiful life has inspired my esteem and respect. I am firmly convinced that some day they will succeed in their effort to lead their fellow Americans in an effort to rebuild the moral and spiritual fibre of their nation to a deeper devotion to God and to humanity."

District of Columbia Mayor Walter Washington sent an official greeting to the gathering, read by his representative, Mr. John Mack. Mayor Washington saluted Rev. Moon for his efforts "to further the cause of world harmony," noting that Rev. Moon's Unification Church "has been in the forefront of civic betterment and progress for our city."

Rev. Moon also gave a brief address, in which he emphasized the importance of America turning back

national Federation for Victory over Communism, of which the FLF is the American affiliate.

Highlights of the evening included the showing of a film on the "Little Angels" dance troupe, another of the many projects inspired by Rev. Moon, and a performance by the "New Hope Singers" under the directorship of Mr. Randolph Remmel.

Notable diplomatic guests at the Dinner included His Excellency James Shen, Ambassador of the Republic of China; His Excellency Amos M. Dambé, Ambassador of Botswana; and His Excellency Marco Antonio Lopez, Ambassador of Costa Rica. Many embassies were represented, as well as numerous congressional offices, military and civic leaders, educators, clergy, youth organizations, journalists and ethnic groups.

Telegrams of support and congratulations were received from dozens of Senators and Congressmen, some of the more notable one including Senators Bill Brock, Hubert Humphrey, Strom Thurmond, Sam Ervin, John Tunney and Jesse Helms.

The dinner was the fifth in a series of 21 to be held in each of the cities to which Rev. Moon will travel on his current "Christianity in Crisis" nationwide speaking tour. In Washington, capacity crowds were drawn to the talks at Lisner Auditorium, at which Rev. Moon spoke on "God's Hope for Man."



Rev. Moon, Neil Salomen, and Ambassador Um Sim

to God if she is to fulfill her mission as the leading nation of the free world. "God loves America," he told the more than 450 guests assembled, "and America has a special role to play in the providence of God. I have come to America to lead a movement to bring God back home."

The innovator of FLF's Unification Ideology and theory for Victory over Communism, Rev. Moon first began teaching in Communist North Korea before the outbreak of the Korean War. He was arrested by Communist authorities after initial success and spent three years under severe conditions, including torture, in a labor camp at Hung-nam. Liberated by U.N. forces in 1950, Rev. Moon fled south, where he later established the Unification Church and the Inter-

"God's Hope for America," and "The Future of Christianity." "America is facing a crisis," he told his audience at the second talk, "because America is abandoning the moral foundations laid by the Founding Fathers. This was a foundation of Christian sacrifice and service. Today, however, this nation is turning inward and placing domestic concerns above international responsibilities. This attitude is contrary to the law of God. If America turns away from God, then God has no other great nation on which he can rely. The Communist world denies His existence. Together, we must work to bring God back home to America so that this nation once again can be blessed by God and fulfill her role as the leading nation of the Free World."

## Saluting Vietnam on National Day

By Louis Fournier

I've forgotten the names of many of the streets I used to love to travel in Saigon. Dirty, dry, and dingy, they frequently reminded me of parts of Boston. I saw bits of American cities in various parts of the South Vietnamese capital: the Presidential palace and American embassy had a touch of New York; Coag Ly and Tu Do streets brought back Austin and Houston; ritzy (by Vietnamese standards) Trung Minh Ky Street, where many foreign embassy families lived, had an air of embassy row in Washington. Other parts of the quaint, quietly elegant city of well over three million people were decidedly Vietnamese with only architecture revealing non-domestic influence: Gim Dinh and the fish-market areas, and the sprawling open-air "shopping center" lay-out near the water front on the Saigon river were wholeheartedly the reflections of the Vietnamese culture and character. I spoke the language, and I delighted in the exchanges of personality I shared with those inspiring people. I learned much of their resiliency and determination, even their forgiveness and humility of spirit.

In the office where I worked was a staff of about twelve Vietnamese young women doing mostly clerical and typing jobs. There were about three I got to know quite well, and Co (Miss) Thieu, working a desk away from me, spoke long about her family, her daily life, her personal spiritual view on life, her hopes and aspirations -- and her feelings about the war. I was reluctant to press her for details, fearing to revive deep wounds of personal loss. She brought it up one day: "We fled from Hanoi when the Communists took over. They would have killed us all if we'd stayed."

"Did you have trouble getting to the South?" I asked.

She smiled with a graciousness and beauty deeply rooted in her ancient lineage and replied, "Trouble? Trouble is only the price tag on a worthwhile life; of course we had trouble, but we are here and we will stay and we will win."

Later she moved me when she told me, much to my astonishment, that her older sister had been killed a few years earlier by a hand grenade set off by three drunk American soldiers in downtown Saigon. I felt overwhelmed with grief and shame, and I turned over words in my mind to find the right way to somehow ask her forgiveness and understanding. She saw my thinking in my face and with a dignity I have seen too rarely she quietly said, "There are signs of evil everywhere, not just in your military. That's what we're fighting for. If my sister's death can open the way for greater gains against every area of evil, then I am happy for her: she is blessed." She saw her nation's war against the northern Communists as more than merely a territorial or even

political contest. She felt personally committed, from a firm faith in God, to a spiritual confrontation against the aggression of a society aimed at destroying every virtue she knew.

There were other degrees of sacrifice I saw in my neighbors in Saigon. Next door to the apartment off Cach Mang street where I lived dwelt an elderly lady who hired out as a maid to homes in the area. She, too, had come South after the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. She was

can reconstruct the entire face of our world, politically, sociologically, economically, scientifically, philosophically and culturally -- that, of course, is part of the malevolence of the Communist goal. For Vietnam, I feel it deeply. They are destroying the ethnic identity of our people. They are brutally reshaping our magnificent ancient legends and literary traditions, our archaic customs that have made Vietnam a land unto its own, even our classical Vietnamese dialect. They

and judged by the industriousness and singlemindedness of high purpose displayed by the gallant spirit of the Vietnamese. I left my 10-month encounter with the country with a sure impression that these people I'd become so fond of were grossly underestimated, even slandered to some degree, by public Western thought, especially by the mainstream press and (ironically enough) the American military. I believe in a free and democratically sovereign Vietnam. I believe in the ability of the Vietnamese people to preserve their national character.

Ideologically speaking, the point of view of this publication is definitive and clear: the world trends, sometimes unwittingly, a moral course of spiritual responsibility. Every nation has a mission of goodness it must fulfill to establish a true and lasting brotherhood of man according to the principles and ideals intended by God as His highest gift to man. An ideological victory over Communism is absolutely essential. The Vietnamese people, sometimes oppressed even by the hands that try to help them as well as their primary frontal enemy, stand resolutely high among the vanguard of the irreversible rising tide of those who will allow nothing less than a totally free and united world. The danger in Vietnam is far from finished. Even now there are growing reports of increased Communist pushes in the South, including widespread renovations of airfields designed for use by the North Vietnamese with the installation of Soviet anti-aircraft missiles like those used so effectively by the Egyptians in the recent Mideast war -- despite the cease-fire banning all such activities. It is not meant to be suggested that Vietnam is a model nation; its domestic problems are huge, and it shares the universal evils so rampant in this fallen world. But the character of the country is devoutly honest, profoundly spiritual, purposeful and determined. We have faith in it, we support it, we salute it. We wish the deepest regards to the citizens of the Republic of Vietnam on this memorable occasion. We pray that National Day will be an inspiring holiday that can rally a greater momentum for the inevitable defeat of Communist totalitarianism. HUANH HO TINH TAN CAO, NGUOI VIET NAM!



well-educated, and she taught me much about the Vietnamese dialect spoken in the North. This frequently led us to talking a lot about culture in the North. She said of her home city, Hanoi, "A beautiful city! Even the Communists can't ruin it; such beauty is beyond them. They don't know what to do with it. They teach the children that Ho Chi Minh planned the parks and fountains and groves of trees and designed those stately, inspired buildings. What nonsense! One of the great tragedies of Communism in the North is that they've seized all the classical Vietnamese culture, which was mostly localized there, and twisted it viciously to meet their own desires."

"How's that?" I asked.

"Communist historians have an easy lot; they don't have to do any analyzing of events to determine their true significance in the course of mankind's drive for a better world. All they have to do is arbitrarily decide what the best angle of an occurrence is to support historical materialism. If two weeks later they think of a better approach for their purpose, just a quick rewrite here and there and you soon have a whole new view of human events. The creative possibilities are incredible! You

are fashioning from our inherent God-given nature a face before the world molded from their own man-made aims, vile and alien to our true selves. They are strangling our heritage, seeking to make the free South look like a cultural pauper. This, too, is why we must persevere against them. Vietnam is one land and people, and we will claim back that which was usurped from us."

So it went. I found the Vietnamese readily willing to speak their minds on almost every topic. Even the notoriously laconic cab drivers, when they discovered someone they could expound to in their own language, talked in great detail about their feelings and experiences with their country's stand against the Communist drive. Invariably I saw the same resolve and conviction that clearly demonstrated their national character. These were a people accustomed to war for nearly the length of their ethnic existence. Distress in many forms had long inbred itself into the daily texture of the Vietnamese routine; and in common with other peoples of whom this was true, they were a hardy breed, often mistaken as unduly soft and "push-overs" because of their natural bend to humility and servitude. Many times I felt American almost censured

National Day is a high national holiday in South Vietnam falling on the anniversary of the birth of the Second (and current) Republic. On November 1, 1963, a military junta overthrew the dictatorial, repressive regime of President Ngo Dinh Diem. In successive years, November 1 was proclaimed the day of remembrance of the Vietnamese national spirit and unity, making a long and rich history of remarkable ethnic homogeneity and culture.

# The Forgotten Europe

## A Letter From East Europe

By Dennis Prager

It was a lovely train ride through the Balkan Mountains of northern Bulgaria. Outside the scenery was beautiful, and inside the train I was enjoying a wonderful time. There was a most friendly Bulgarian conductor who was explaining that Bulgarians tend to nod when saying no and to shake their heads when saying yes; and I particularly relished my dialog with a group of young Poles on their way to Varna, the popular resort on the Black Sea.

These Poles, quite open about their political feelings, expressed them in the usual East European manner, through the medium of humor. "Under capitalism," began one of the youths gleefully, "man exploits man; while under Communism it's the other way around!" We all had a good laugh, and I only regretted being unable to write these classic East European guips as quickly as they were related.

Despite the joviality of this particular occasion, however, I did not find on this, my third trip to East Europe, much to laugh about. In fact, as I crossed the electrified fences on my return to West Europe, I experienced a profound feeling of depression and even of some irrational guilt at leaving behind my friends. Diplomats, journalists, and tourists in East Europe generally live on Western islands, viewing East Europeans in much the same manner one views animals in a zoo - observation without communication. To the best of my ability, I attempted to swim in the sea of East European reality.

The overwhelming first reality of East European life is, of course, Communism or, more accurately, the virtually total control of Communist parties over their respective countries. This fact, simply a truism to any East European, needs to be repeated for those in the West who fail to perceive the all-embracing nature of Communism in this part of the world.

Given this fact, my first concern was to comprehend the effects of Communism on the people of the area and particularly on the generation of my contemporaries which has known and lived under nothing but Communism.

Perhaps the greatest effect of Communism in East Europe has been to stunt the growth of any creative social and political thinking and thereby to create a society of complete political apathy. Despite, or perhaps because of, the ceaseless meaningless political invective, East Europeans simply do not care about things political. THEY, the Government and Party leaders are omniscient and omnipotent (after all they do represent the scientific inevitability of Marxism-Leninism); Truth resides among THEM; and so THEY do what THEY will. What role can I, one of the 90-95% of the population which is not in the Party (or, for that matter, most of those in the Party as well), play in society? What power can I, the average worker, exercise over my own salary, let alone over national priorities or foreign affairs?

Of course, the governments involved vigorously deny it, but this overwhelming apathy to political matters is precisely what they have endeavored to create. An apathetic people is a docile people, easily ruled and easily manipulated.

There has, however, been a heavy price to pay for this apathy. East Europe is a stagnant world; intellectual activity is virtually at a standstill. When about all one can read is non-controversial fiction and Party approved non-fiction; when newspapers, radio and television spew forth the same monotonous Party line day after day, one tends to read less, to listen less, and ultimately to think less. A very bright Bulgarian girl told me how voraciously she used to read when she was in West Europe (one of her parents is West European), and how since returning to Bulgaria she has gradually come to read less and less.

Should one continue to think and question under these circumstances, he is eternally cursed. One such person, a sensitive young Pole, said to me: "What is my life here? I work and work, but for what? There is no goal, no aim to life here. We have become a nation of sheep; we are told what to do, what to think, how to live. We go on living, but biologically only; intellectually and spiritually we are dead."

At one point in the recent past this person gave up and attempted suicide. It would reveal a deep misunderstanding of the situation, however, to consider this person pathetic. First the finest minds and souls in East Europe are

similarly "pathetic;" and second, as Professor Frankl has written in his study of concentration camp behavior, an abnormal situation is normal.

In addition to fostering intellectual stagnation, mass apathy constitutes a double-edged sword for the regimes which create it. Almost no one in East Europe believes in or cares about Communism, even fewer believe in the Party, and most of those who do join the Party do so for political and/or financial motives. Examples of antipathy to Communism abound.

One of my favorite stories took place in East Berlin where hearing an elderly couple speaking a language similar to Russian, I approached and asked them in Russian from where they came.

"From Bulgaria," the couple answered. "Where do you come from?"

"From America."

"Then how come you speak Russian?" the man asked me suspiciously.

"I'm a student of Communist Affairs."

"Are you a Communist?" he asked with a look of revulsion which would have done a John Birchman proud.

"No, I'm a bourgeois capitalist."

"Oh yes? Me too!" and he embraced me warmly.

In Rumania, I spent six hours on a train listening to a 28 year-old doctor describe her hatred of Communism and the Party's ability to control each individual's life. She was just returning from some months' compulsory work on a peasant

learned, distributes free Marxist-Leninist literature for five losing lottery tickets. In Czechoslovakia, the current holder of the title "Most Depressing Country in East Europe," anti-Party and anti-Russian feelings are the few political sentiments Czechs continue to feel as a blanket of apathy descends upon the nation. So deep are these feelings, however, that in 1971 many Czechs celebrated the news of the deaths of the three Soviet cosmonauts.

Today in Czechoslovakia bitterness combines with a feeling of utter helplessness. Last year a young Czech friend took pride in his return from the West where he was studying "in order to help my people." This year he regrets that decision. "It was a futile gesture," he says.

If politics is of little concern to East Europeans, what then does concern them? For one thing, sport in the Communist world has become, to paraphrase Marx on religion in the capitalist world, the opiate of the people. (The excellent showing of the East Europeans at the Olympics was one manifestation of this fact.) Insofar as the regimes are concerned, this is a favorable and encouraged development, as football fanatics rarely think too much about politics; and as far as the people themselves are concerned, sport constitutes one of society's few non-predictable activities, decided by individual initiative.

Drinking is more than ever a national pastime in these countries, and though, for good reason, this is

of living in the West," said one young Hungarian. "I think of how I would spend my first million dollars."

The chances are, though, that neither this young Hungarian nor most other young East Europeans will have the opportunity to earn their first million, as travel for the young is very restricted. One method of beating the system is marriage (at least for the women). Large numbers of enterprising, if not very noble, young Italian males can be seen in Budapest, for example, where they are handsomely paid by Hungarian families to marry their lovely daughters and take them to the West.

If, as any good Marxist will tell you, economics is the primary motivating factor in human activity, it is no wonder that East Europeans are preoccupied with fantasies of Western splendor and schemes for attaining affluence. The state-planned economies of East Europe just do not respond to the demands of the consumer. I am convinced that there exists in each East European country a Department of Consumer Affairs dedicated to the art of making life difficult. Such departments must insure that trains run slowly and off schedule; that trains and buses move only when overfilled to the point of squashing; that consumer products and services be so limited as to insure a 5-15 minute wait on line for tickets, food, or whatever; that the number of workers in consumer fields be limited; that whenever one office or one piece of paper can perform a task, two or more must be assigned.

Consumer items are plagued not only by primitive quality and inadequate supply, but by high price tags as well (even by West European standards of living). In Hungary, which is experiencing an era of relatively great economic liberalism and affluence, and where the average monthly salary is about 2100 Forints, wooden sandals cost 560 Forints, a plain woman's suit of rather cheap material costs 980, and a child's raincoat 620. Prices are higher in other East European countries.

Of course, it should be - and always is - noted that staple items such as food, rent, education, and medical care are either free or very inexpensive. Less often noted is the lack of availability of quality food (e.g. meat), and the virtual absence of apartments. The latter problem is endemic to all major East European cities (waiting lists are often years long) and is the cause of many family problems, as young couples are unable to find a place to live alone. It is also the cause of all the public manifestations of romantic feeling among young couples.

Medical care is more or less free, but in any East European country better medical care is obtained by slipping a doctor money during his off hours. In fact, anything better can be and is obtained for the right price. The more orthodox regimes such as Rumania and Bulgaria attempt to root out this vestige of free enterprise, and starting last October private medical practice such as described above was to be outlawed in Bulgaria. Prospects for quality medical care in that country, consequently, are quite dim; physicians in Bulgaria earn less than teachers or waiters.

In view of these facts, it is fair to say that East Europe is a paean to the free enterprise system. That the 5% privately owned land in Bulgaria, to give but one of many such illustrations, produces 35% of the country's agricultural produce is a dramatic, but hardly startling, testimony to this fact. State controlled economies of the East European variety simply do not work, and the more developed countries of the area (Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland) are constantly engaging in reforms, i.e. abandoning Marxist-Leninist dogma, in order to achieve a more dynamic economy. The Gierk regime in Poland has recently abolished peasants and farmers from fulfilling obligatory governmental contracts. The increased quality and quantity of food was immediately apparent. In Hungary, private initiative is expanding at a constant, though glacier like, pace. As a result, "we are," a Hungarian engineer told me, "the happiest bunker in the camp," referring to Hungary's current status in East Europe.

The point that East Europe is a Soviet camp cannot be overemphasized. Without Soviet support, i.e. the real possibility of Soviet military intervention, only the Communist regimes of Rumania and, somewhat less definitely, of Bulgaria would likely remain in power. East Europeans are only too well aware of this painful fact.

The young too are apathetic to anything but money and sex. It is true that a great many young East Europeans want to escape to the West, but for love of money rather than for a conscious love of freedom and/or capitalism, two subjects concerning which they have rather foggy ideas. "When I think



Jan Masaryk

## Czechoslovakia's Turbulent History

It is little remembered or understood that the real tragedy of Czechoslovakia did not take place in 1968 but twenty years earlier, in 1948. That was the year in which freedom and democracy were denied a people who cherished and loved both so dearly. In 1949 the spectre of Communism rose in Czechoslovakia. It is an irony of history that such a country came under Communist rule. Czechoslovakia is much different from her Slav neighbors - it is a nation rich in western cultural heritage and with a healthy democratic tradition. In fact, it is the only East European nation with any kind of true democratic heritage. Yet Czechoslovakia's "crime" was its strategic importance.

The Soviets were bent upon bringing Czechoslovakia, which found itself in the midst of the East-West division, into their sphere.

### The End

Following World War II, on June 4, 1947, American Secretary of State George C. Marshall announced the now legendary "Marshall Plan," initially intended to reach both Eastern and Western Europe with desperately needed aid. Czechoslovakia was quick to respond. However, quick to see this as "a blow to the friendly relations between her (Czechoslovakia) and the Soviet Union," the Russians applied heavy pressure on the newly established coalition government of Edvard Benes. Three days later, Czechoslovakia withdrew from the Marshall Plan. This act signalled the beginning of the end of free Czechoslovakia. The teetering coalition government collapsed and fell into the hands of the Communists, led by Klement Gottwald. The only influential democratic leader, Jan Masaryk, was found dead in the courtyard of Czernin Palace, with strong hints that his "suicidal" fall from a window was helped along by a few KGB agents. Edvard Benes was a sick man, soon to die.

With the absence of any opposition candidates, in May 1948, a weary Czech nation signed its soul over to the Communist Party of Klement Gottwald. The independence, recovered with such agony in the Spring of 1945 was cast aside by the Czech's almost casually, less than three years later.

### Novotny

The following twelve years saw a stable economy and the flourishing of Czech industry. These were the outwardly successful years for the Communists, but they did not last. In 1961, Stalinist economy, with its rigid planning, threw Czechoslovakia into a serious economic crisis. A Stalinist mania for heavy industry starved the provinces of Bohemia and Moravia, whose specialty was light industry. A huge bureaucracy, a lack of skilled workers, growing dissent in Slovakia especially among farmers who were reluctant to cooperate in government agricultural plans, and a sudden steep decline in living standards rocked the regime of Anton Novotny. Scores of dissidents, mostly Jews and Slovaks, were made the objects of Stalinist trials. Throughout 1963, Novotny was on the defensive. Although he managed to stay on top,

he was forced to make a number of concessions in the form of changes in political leadership. From this time on, there was a slow but steady trend towards liberalization.

Yet the change was too slow; the Czech economy was a weak one. Indeed, the first serious unrest and a foreshadowing of the "Prague Spring" came during the May Day celebration in 1966 in Prague. Hundreds of demonstrating students tore down political slogans and hurled abuse at the police. Novotny denounced the students, blaming irresponsible writers in the cultural magazines for the "erroneous" political ideas the students were daring to put forward.

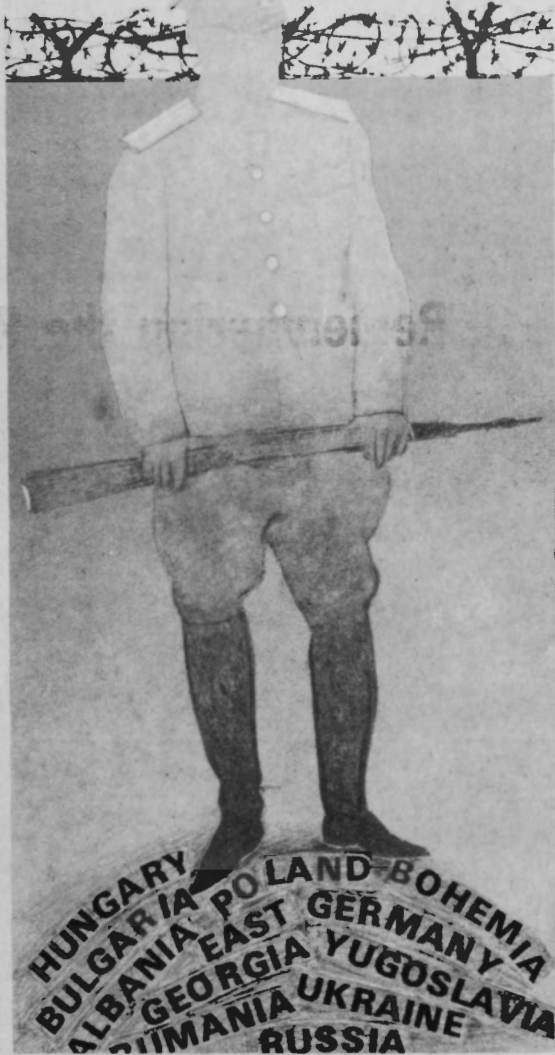
### Dubcek

Stern warnings were issued to intellectuals who were accused of spreading "Bourgeois ideology." The warnings had little effect - the ice had been broken. Novotny, who staked his career on Stalin's coat-tails, found that now even his supposed allies in the Kremlin were wary of backing Stalinist measures. Stalin was long gone. He had been toppled by the same people who had once elevated him, who now sought to erase all traces of connection to him. Novotny, once the darling of the Kremlin, was considered expendable. Thus, the Kremlin, withdrawing active support for Novotny, consigned his fate to the Czech leadership. In January of 1968, Novotny was ousted and replaced with Alexander Dubcek, a compromise candidate. However, Novotny remained as President; at this, the Kremlin seemed satisfied.

In March of 1968, the final break was made with the past and a defeated and despondent Anton Novotny was dismissed from the Presidency and replaced by General Ludvik Svoboda. For Dubcek it was a point of no return. For the Czechs it was the beginning of a bold course that would end in utter tragedy.

The telling of the story from here would only be reiterative. It is sufficient to say that however bold and inspiring Dubcek's course was, it would necessarily have led to a virtual repudiation of Marxism. Dubcek sought "socialism with a human face," because Marxism denies man of any innate human value; such a search was in vain. It is argued by many that if Dubcek had been more cautious, the 1968 invasion would have never taken place. Perhaps so. Perhaps the invasion could have been delayed, but it could not be stopped. The very existence of the regime Czechoslovakia was heading towards was a denial of Marxism and, to the Soviets, a denial of Soviet hegemony. Neither of these things were the Soviets willing to tolerate, at any price.

Today, sadly, Czechoslovakia is probably the most tightly and rigidly controlled of all the East European states. Trials and witch hunts of dissidents have been sickeningly numerous. It is a bitter lesson, yet a necessary one. John Locke once said, "It is one thing to show a man he is in error, and another to put him in possession of the truth." It is we who must answer that challenge to put the Marxist world in possession of that truth. Only then will we see a truly free Czech nation.



commune, and the experience of living as a peasant was not one which she enjoyed. "The Government considers every one equal in every way - doctors and peasants must therefore live together. But I am not a peasant and I do not have a peasant mentality. I am a doctor, and I wish to live as a doctor should."

Even more eloquent was the silent opposition to Communist indoctrination which I witnessed at a movie theater in Bucharest, the Rumanian capital. The film, an American Western entitled "The Ballad of Cable Hogue," was scheduled to begin at 9:15 P.M. The line for tickets was rather long, yet when I entered the theater at 9:10 I found myself almost all alone. My puzzlement continued when at 9:15 the curtain lifted to show newsreels to an empty theater. At 9:30, however, the news ended and in rushed all the people, enough to fill the house. These people knew exactly what they wanted - and what they did not want - to see.

In Poland Communism is so unpopular that the Government, I

a growing problem, this is one area wherein the governments are restricted in what they can do. "Husak can call for political trials," said one Czech, ordering his fifth beer, "but he wouldn't dare raise beer prices."

With idealism crushed along with political interest, the moral vacuum in East Europe is being filled with a quasi hedonism. It is not the New Socialist Man whom these regimes are creating, but a man who is preoccupied with material gain. Good guys do not finish last in these countries, they simply do not compete. Cheating is universally accepted as the only way to get ahead. East European governments periodically execute big time cheaters in the hope that such harsh punishment will deter others, but it is a lost cause.

The young too are apathetic to anything but money and sex. It is true that a great many young East Europeans want to escape to the West, but for love of money rather than for a conscious love of freedom and/or capitalism, two subjects concerning which they have rather foggy ideas. "When I think

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# Czechs Mark Their 55th Anniversary

To commemorate the 55th Anniversary of Czechoslovak independence on October 28, 1918, the Czechoslovak Nation Council of America sponsored a reception on Thursday, October 25. Honored at the reception was John K. Tabor, Under-secretary of Commerce. Andrew Valuchek, Special Assistant to the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, gave the welcoming address highlighting important episodes in Czech history. Mr. Tabor, of Czech descent, gave a warm recollection of his father's

association with independence - winner Masaryk and of a recent visit to Czechoslovakia. Present at the event were Julian Niemczyk, director of the Heritage Group of the Republican National Committee; Ms. Janet Johnston, Co-Chairman of the Republican National Committee, Senator Claiborne Pell, and Representatives Landgrebe, Holt, Frelinghuysen, Vigorito, Robinson, and Rooney. Also represented were, Senators Hruska, Jackson and Percy, and Representative Goldwater.



Andrew Valuchek

## "A new page in history..."

By Andrew Valuchek

This evening we are commemorating the 55th anniversary of the founding of the Czechoslovak Republic. Although we are celebrating the creation of a new State, we are in reality paying tribute to a rebirth of a people whose existence dates way back into the early centuries of modern European history.

Czechoslovakia has known periods of greatness, the eras of the Moravian and Bohemian Empires, the sad and gloomy periods of defeat and destruction, periods of resurrection, subjugation, twilight democracy and again loss of freedom.

The camping grounds of large numbers of foreign armies. This is the land of Austerlitz - Slavkov, and also of Lidice.

The Moravian Empire introduced Christianity into Central and Eastern Europe as early as the year 863, and Bohemia was a mighty empire in the Middle Ages, stretching from the Baltic Sea to the Adriatic. Charles University in Praha, one of the oldest universities in Central Europe, was founded in 1347 and attracted students from many parts of the world. As a matter of fact, the founder of that great institution of learning, Charles the Fourth, advocated the first concept of a league of nations in order to outlaw wars and strife among nations.

Jan Amos Komensky, the founder of our modern system of education, a Bishop of the Czech Brethren Church, one of the first and foremost of the Czech exiles, was asked by Governor John Winthrop of

Massachusetts, when he visited Europe in 1642, to become the first President of Harvard.

The problem of the people of Czechoslovakia to a great extent was its geographical position. Located in the heart of Europe, Czechoslovakia was the land which by necessity was directly affected by the many opposing political and social concepts and philosophies which swept across Europe. Bismarck once remarked: "Who rules Bohemia, rules Europe." One can almost consider Czechoslovakia the heart of Europe. I wonder, whether that unfortunate land could not be considered the barometer of the continent. How can Europe not be affected, or perhaps, the world, if the heart is not well?

Then again, the people of Czechoslovakia paid dearly for their beliefs in social, religious freedoms and basic human rights. The Battle of White Mountains in 1620, when Bohemia was destroyed, was fought over religious freedom. It spelled the loss of all fundamental rights and cultural accomplishments of the Czech people -- a situation which lasted to 1918.

It is interesting that even though the nation experienced a period of passivity or fatalism, it did not die. There were always men and women who considered it their patriotic mission of awakening their countrymen to a renewed appreciation of their heritage, to a pride in their language and land. These were artists, poets, novelists, musical composers, some of them like Antonin Dvorak and Bedrich Smetana, who became world famous.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century there were three men, in particular, Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, Edward Benes and Milan Rastislav Stefanik, who gave the nation the kind of leadership which again awakened the desires of the people for their freedom and brought about the conditions which created the Czechoslovak Republic. Thus, when World War I broke out the Czechoslovak nation was prepared to seize the opportunity to assert its rights of nationhood.

On November 14th, 1915, Masaryk who was in exile and the leaders of the Czech colonies in the Triple Entente States. (France, Great Britain and Russia) as well as the leaders of the Czechs and

Slovaks in the United States issued a manifesto, aimed at the Austro-Hungarian Empire, in favor of the Entente and for the independence of the Czechoslovak state. A Czechoslovak Foreign Committee was formed in January, 1916, which was later renamed the National Czechoslovak Council with Thomas Masaryk as its President.

The first great success of the Council occurred on January 10, 1917, when President Woodrow Wilson included the liberation of the Czechoslovaks as one of the war aims of the Allies.

The Council also secured a right to organize a fighting force, which proudly called itself the Czechoslovak Legion. The first battle of the Legion took place at Zborov in Russia on July 2nd, 1917. On December 19, 1917, the French Government agreed to the establishment of an independent Czechoslovak Army on the French soil. Many of the members of the fighting force were volunteers who came from the United States.

The first country to recognize the National Council as the leading body of the Czechoslovak movement was France on June 29, 1918. The following day, the British expressed their agreement with the steps taken by the French Government. By a declaration on August 9th, 1918, the British recognized the Czechoslovaks as an allied nation. Then the other allied Governments followed and on October 24th, the interim government itself proclaimed its independence by a declaration dated from Washington. Thus when the capitulation of Austria-Hungary took place in the night of October 27 and 28, Czechoslovakia was free again, its first President and founder of the new republic was an American soil.

The Czechoslovak Republic was formed and a new and glamorous page in world history was written. Masaryk, from the bitter ashes of a feudal monarchy, built a model state which never during its short twenty years of history lost its soul or its love of basic human freedoms - earning the people a proud nickname -- "The Yankees of Europe"

However, destiny was not kind to the people of Czechoslovakia: Adolf

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John K. Tabor

## Remembering the Revolution

Speech delivered on October 27, 1973, by Mr. Istvan B. Gereben, Co-President of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation, on the occasion of the 17th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution.

"The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 was a new phenomenon, perhaps no less meaningful than the French or Russian Revolution. It means the beginning of the end of Communism" - wrote Milovan Djilas, the distinguished Communist author, scholar, and the former Vice President of Tito's Yugoslavia. He is probably right. By some simple, very gloriously simple miracle, a nation declared its boundless and free spirit. The world was stunned. Hungary suddenly became free. A heroic intoxication took over a nation which barehandedly wrestled its newly gained liberty from the tanks of Khrushchev. The spirit of self sacrifice, courage and determination have overcome unsurmountable odds. We the participants in this unbelievable miracle happily and enthusiastically enjoyed freedom that was not ours for long years. We

commemorate those joyful days today. Then came the hordes of tyranny and opened the chest of a nation with spikes of iron. With every fallen hero, the hopes of remaining free were diminishing. The betrayal of the new, neutral Hungary by our western brothers had a fatal effect.

We commemorate the heroes and remind our brothers today. We pay tribute to the heroes who believed that all nations have the right to self-determination. We remind first of all and mostly ourselves and our brothers that no man is free until all men are free.

These are the themes for today - remembering a day of courage, conscience and triumph which thrilled free men everywhere, the purity and universality of the principles of the Hungarian October, the uncompromising spirit of freedom still affect the world and its inhabitants.

Cardinal Mindszenty - in whom we see the symbol of all those noble qualities which made 1956 what it was - recently visited the United States. His visit united not only American Hungarians but affected the nation as a whole. For a

short moment two distinguished Americans, on the opposite side of the political power structure of this United States, expressing the feelings of many others, found it a pleasant duty to agree on the greatness of our humble but firm symbol of 1956. I would like to share with you the telegram of the President and the speech of Senator Kennedy, greeting Cardinal Mindszenty on his arrival to America.

"It is a privilege to send this warm message of welcome as you arrive to America. I know that millions of Americans share with me the deep respect and gratitude which you have earned throughout the world by your inspiring example of spiritual dedication and courage. I hope your brief visit will be a thoroughly pleasant one. Sincerely, Richard Nixon."

Senator Kennedy said on the floor of the Senate: "We recently had the honor in this Nation of receiving the visit of Jozsef Cardinal Mindszenty, one of the world's heroic symbols of freedom and liberty. Cardinal Mindszenty

(Continued on page 7)



Plaque awarded to the Rising Tide



Louise Berry accepting award.

**CITATION**

THE HUNGARIAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS FEDERATION IS HONORED TO AWARD

THE RISING TIDE

its

1973 FREEDOM AWARD

for consummate skill, insight and clarity in bringing to others the ethical, moral, practical and theoretical foundations for understanding the principles of freedom, liberty and constitutional government, particularly for the articulate advocacy of the undeniable right of the Hungarian People to self-determination and for the formulation of the Federation's objectives and accomplishments.

Washington D.C. October 27, 1973.

Istvan B. Gereben,  
Co-President

Dr. Andras Pogany  
President

## Will We Change?

today? Should we change or reconsider our goals in the seventies?

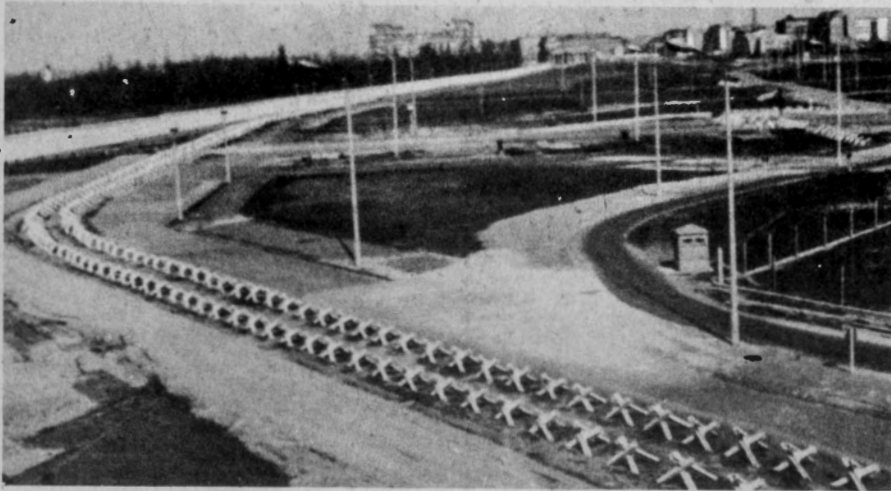
We do not believe so, ladies and gentlemen. We cannot change, because Communist totalitarianism does not change at all, as we could find it out in the events of this new, raging war fully supplied and encouraged again by a Soviet Union, supposedly pursuing a happy detente policy toward us. We cannot and we are not willing to recognize a so-called status-quo because no status-quo is possible with oppression, neo-colonialism and terror. There cannot be a status-quo if the other side is doing its best to bury us, threatening our very life and existence. Unfortunately, the American public is being systematically misled and lives in an utopistic state of day-dreaming. Many of us sincerely believe that a safe and peaceful world is just around the corner. Unfortunately, such a world cannot be called into existence by dramatic announcements, happy hand-shaking, engaging smiles and by sweeping hard but unpleasant facts under the rug in the name of a "detente" which simply does not exist. If the Vietnam war did not

teach us anything about the Soviet's idea of detente and coexistence, let's hope that the Middle East war will, if hopefully, there is still a spark of reality left in the minds of our modern American apostles of the so-called "era of negotiations"

So far, however, the voices of reality came rather from Moscow than from Washington D.C. The voices of Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn joined with the unbroken voice of the greatest living Hungarian, Cardinal Mindszenty. All of them told us the same: beware. May God help us to understand these solemn warnings better than we did in the time of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.

In such circumstances we Hungarian freedom fighters are not willing to compromise. We repeat, with unwavering faith and loyalty, the last message of our revolution: if freedom, human dignity and constitutional rights are oppressed by naked military force anywhere, the freedom of the world is in mortal danger and we have to face the challenge of totalitarianism without double-talk, without made-up excuses or hesitation.

Andras Pogany



# Ideology

## Needed: An Ideological Policy

by Gary Jarmin

Today our nation faces one of its most important crises--the crisis of having no clear foreign policy. It is a situation not new to us, yet we are faced with great troubles at home and abroad because we have been without any goal, strategy or principles to guide our foreign policy.

There isn't anyone in particular to blame either for this problem. Roosevelt, Truman, Nixon, Kissinger, Dulles and many before them failed to establish a clear perspective of America's purpose and duty to mankind. It is not possible to create a goal-oriented policy until we understand our purpose as Americans. That purpose has never been understood--many refuse to entertain the notion that we should have any goal. To them it would seem dictatorial or imperialistic for America to assert certain principles, values and goals as necessary prerequisites in establishing a peaceful and harmonious world.

**Things that make for peace**  
The question must be asked--what things do make for peace? Can we create peace apart from principles and values? Before we can fully answer this question we should clarify the basis from which our current foreign policy has been formulated.

The general outlook of many academicians and foreign policy makers has been based on a geo-political analysis of the world with the primary goal of doing that which is in our "national interest."

The geo-political perspective of the world is formulated on the balance of power principle. The world is looked upon as being divided into various geographic, political blocks--each competing to expand themselves. This competition occurs economically, politically, and militarily. In places like Korea, Vietnam, or the Middle-East, our apparent goal regarding Communism is to contain it through a network of alliances and various economic and political maneuvers. Unfortunately, this strategy is not effective because we are not sure exactly what it is we are trying to protect except some vague notion of "national interest." It is also ineffective for the important reason that we have not completely

realized that the heart of the struggle between Communism and the Free World is primarily an ideological one.

### Our principles are Universal

Ideology and national interest should be united into one. We depend on a balance of power situation to protect our nation. Then what is it that we are protecting? Obviously we are seeking to protect our way of life based on certain values and freedoms that we declare to be self-evident. We must realize that these values and freedoms are universal, belonging not just to America. If we as a Christian nation consider it to be a moral imperative to "love our fellow man" and recognize all men as our brothers, then it becomes our duty to extend to all men the same opportunities and freedoms that we enjoy. Simply, American foreign policy should be directed in the interests of the liberty and freedom of all men. It is true that no one can be completely free unless all are free. If men are suppressed anywhere then automatically our own freedom is endangered. The solution is not to protect just ourselves from the onslaught of totalitarianism but to act in a positive manner by seeking to liberate those who are oppressed. The best insurance for us to remain free is to strive to make all men free.

### Nixon Doctrine

A perfect opposite is the Nixon Doctrine, which attempts to create a balance-of-power situation in the world void of any ideological considerations. The great fallacy of this doctrine is the belief that we can make small Asian nations the front-line of defense against Communism without a substantial U.S. presence. The most militarized Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, or Thailand can never hope to be a match for Communist China. We can hardly consider ourselves even a back-up force if we withdraw 10,000 miles. The thing lost the most in such a move is the psychological advantage of a U.S. presence, revealing the obvious lack of a moral commitment to strengthening freedom and democracy in Asia. In fact, Nixon's trip to Peking had the exact opposite effect. Among the results were: 1) The Republic of China's

expulsion from the U.N., 2) the downfall of the friendly Sato government in Japan, 3) the invasion into South Vietnam by the Communists one month after Nixon's trip, 4) the declaring of martial law in Korea, Philippines and establishment of a military dictatorship in Thailand. Nixon's failure was that he sought to establish relations with Peking as a legitimate status-quo power while totally ignoring the major ideological differences between ourselves and the Communists.

Similar things occurred with our dealings with the Soviets. Even though the Soviets may have recognized the idea of "peaceful co-existence," they certainly have not recognized the concept of "ideological co-existence." The hard-core evidence of this is the way the Soviets have ruthlessly oppressed their own dissidents the more "detente" became the fashion. Even "peaceful co-existence" is only a tactic to be used in Europe but to be discarded in the Middle-East when it suits their purpose.

### The Basics

The most important thing we must realize is the nature of the ideological struggle we are involved in. The Soviets have never given up their goal of establishing a Marxist world. We can never expect them to seriously compromise their long-range goals for a few wheat deals or trade agreements. To believe such a thing only helps to demonstrate our total lack of understanding of the ideological struggle in which we are engaged.

We can never create a "generation of peace" unless we create the conditions which make men free at the same time. Peace apart from freedom is not peace at all. At best it is only silence. Finally, there can be no true freedom until all men are free. Therefore, it is a moral imperative that the goal of our foreign policy be to maximize freedom whenever and wherever possible in the world. Without such a goal America will continue to stagger around from crisis to crisis, never gaining any ground, only compromising away what we have, and continually pushing away the goal of creating a truly just and lasting peace for mankind.

## Essence of Dialectical Materialism

by Sang Hung Lee

For a further understanding of Communistic materialism it is necessary to understand its view of man. To Communists, man is basically material like an amoeba or any other animal, but he is distinguished from other material in that he is highly developed. In nature, inorganic compounds evolved into one-celled animals such as the amoeba. Such lower animals evolved eventually into Homo Sapiens, passing through many stages and finally through the anthropoid stage, not by a special creation but only by material development. Man, to the Communists, is merely a higher animal at the supreme end of the evolution scale. To an idealist, man is not an animal but a rational, ethical being with the dignity of having an individual personality and human rights. Communist materialism holds that it is not reason, character, nor rights that distinguish man from animals. The only thing distinguishing man from animals is his labor. In the process of evolution the ape became man. However, Communists say that apes did not suddenly become endowed with reason and character developed after they began to labor, reason developed through language as the need to communicate, because of labor, clearly increased. Such a view was supported by archeological discoveries of prehistoric human remains. We know that many stone implements were used as tools in the Stone Age; many chipped stone tools have also been excavated from as early as the Paleolithic age. It is sure they were used as tools then, as were the polished stone tools of the Neolithic age. Some of these may have also been articles for religious practice or art but most of the remains from the Paleolithic age, the dawn of history, are working tools.

### Labor and Man

Labor and the creation of tools of labor are the only things that distinguish man from the rest of the animal kingdom. "When man produces the material necessary for labor (working tool), rather than from conscience and religion, he is distinguished from other animals" (Engels). He said that language and speculating ability, that is, reason, were developed through labor. There is also a

psychological action in other animals but the human spirit is qualitatively different. It has the ability to induce universal truths from specific examples. This capability to generalize is a unique one; this speculative ability was obtained through human social labor.

"First labour, after it and then with it, speech--these were the two most essential stimuli under the influence of which the brain of the ape gradually changed into that of man, which for all its similarity is far larger and more perfect."

"The reaction of labour and speech of the development of the brain and its attendant senses, of the increasing clarity of consciousness, power of abstraction and of judgement, gave both labour and speech an ever-renewed impulse to further development (Engels, The Part Played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man Marx, Engels, Selected Works, p. 361)."

Human consciousness and speculation are the results of the material development of the brain over a long period of time; they were not with man from the beginning. Through social labor, or cooperative work, human beings had a close relationship with each other and formed society through their organic correlation. Man's character, standards, morals and religions have all come to appear based on the society of social labor. Order and religion were necessary for the convenience of social life and for the effective ruling of the public by the men of power. Thus law, morality, personality and reason are the outcome of social labor and are not the original nature of man. Since man is a higher animal, there is essentially little difference between man and other animals because the so-called original human nature is actually postnatal and acquired. Humans found the law of the jungle unbeneficial to themselves so they improved social life by laws, order and religion. The personality, rights, character, freedom, etc. of man are also not absolute but rather the results of social life; hence to followers of communist materialism, the uniqueness of one's personality is nonsense.

Labor is the most important thing in society and is the base of all cultural realms such as politics, law, art, morality, religion, science, etc.

Therefore all social and cultural elements other than social labor are secondary after-effects. Because the basic factor in the ape's evolution into man is labor, there are no cultural elements independent of social labor (production). Character, rights, personality, and freedom are significant only on the premise of social labor.

Social labor requires not only a definite social system (production relations) but also a fair distribution of the gain from the labor. In other words, since labor--that is, production--is communal, possession and distribution should also be communal. When production, distribution and consumption are passed into the hands of the general public, a real social welfare society comes into being and work efficiency will greatly increase.

### Personality and Revolution

As shown above, since character and rights are products of social labor, they can be recognized only in those who are engaged in social labor of establishing a true production relationship. Such true production relations can only be established by overthrowing the capitalist society. Accordingly personality, character, rights and freedom are recognized only in the revolutionists and their sympathizers and puppets are not recognized in this way. Based on these views Communists have been able to relentlessly murder anybody who objects to the revolutionary movement, regardless of how prominent a scientist, statesman or noted religious leader he may be. Character, rights and personality are allowed only to those engaged in social work and who are useful to the social revolution, such as the laborers, farmers, students, *petits bourgeois*, etc.

### Subject of Sentient Activities

The traditional view of materialism regards man as a perceptive being. Communist materialism, however, considers man not only as a sentient being but also as an active being. Man not only perceives the external world through his five senses but also acts, making use of his limbs. Man is also a historical being creating history through his activity. Man thus is the subject of the perceptive, sentient

(Continued on page 8)

## Promoting Change In Latin America

Part One

Jose Font, a young executive working with minority groups for the Small Business Administration in Washington, D.C., has an unusual spare time activity: working toward the liberation of Cuba. Font, a Cuban exile, is the National Secretary for Foreign Relations of Abdala, a young people's group working for that purpose. (See *Rising Tide*, July 31, 1972)

A student of international relations, Font brings a reasoned perspective to support his position. "We find that the Cuban situation has not been given much attention by the media or this Administration.

"For instance, within the context of world politics, there is a preoccupation with conditions in Europe, the Mideast, and the Far East; we neglect to promote changes in this hemisphere. Given the fact that there is struggle around the world, we should set an order of priorities. There should be two objectives: containment where authoritarian forces (Communist) are strong and promotion of gains where these forces are weaker. Therefore we should identify the weakest places, where a democratic effort is most natural to be successful. We should know the background of each country, per-

ceiving its realities and asking ourselves which forces are struggling."

According to Font, military governments have justified control of all but two countries of Latin America because of the threat, real or imagined, of Marxism-Leninism. "We see that here we must define what is most natural. If Marxism-Leninism is not the most natural form of government, it should be eradicated. Then military forces would have no justification for control."

Font mentioned that military governments are showing greater sophistication than before, in some cases planning for democratic civilian governments. In the case of Chile, said Mr. Font, "It is imprudent for anyone to make any kind of statement. We see one reality--there has been no great reaction, implying that the Chilean people have, by and large, accepted this drastic medicine.

"Changes are coming to Latin America," emphasized Mr. Font. "We can hope that the change will be toward the return of birth of democratic representative governments. In the process we should work to eliminate forces playing against this, most especially, of course, Communism."

Abdala was created in 1968 by young people with this kind of as-

piration. The prime goal is the liberation of Cuba; the guiding principles are independence, democratic and representative government, and unity within Cuba.

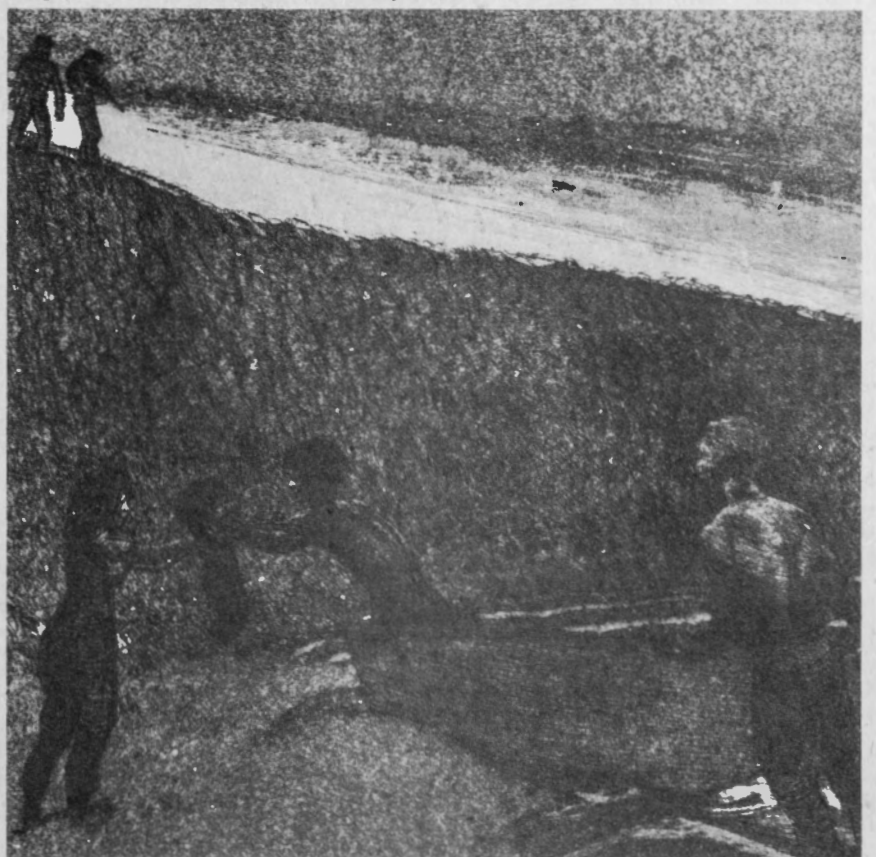
The name Abdala comes from the main character of an epic poem by Jose Marti, a Cuban national hero.

Abdala, an Arab prince, personally fought alongside members of his kingdom in a decisive battle against another kingdom, inspiring them to victory. With an international organization, Abdala has created a radio program broadcast into Cuba for four four days a week and a mail-in program. Ideological education will be moving more to the forefront in the future. "Cuban exiles have done well economically, but this is not enough," said Mr. Font. "As political exiles and refugees, we must make use of our freedoms. We must be like Abdala, who, foregoing all material comforts, used his life to uphold the principles of his kingdom."

See Principles of Abdala

on page 7

Coming -- Prospects for Cuban Liberation



Escape from Cuba - from an etching by Alexiys Burgess

# Principles of Abdala Cuban Youth Movement

The National Principles mark the fundamental objectives considered indispensable and sacred by the Cuban nation. These principles are to be observed and respected above any interest or government, be it domestic or foreign. Thereby will be realized our historical destiny: a destiny of progress with freedom and decorum.

## I. National Sovereignty

Based upon the concept of the self-determination of peoples, the present Castro tyranny condones the desecration of our territorial, political, economic and cultural sovereignty, both in domestic and international affairs.

The presence of Soviet "auditors" in all key governmental positions, in civil as well as military areas, makes the present government subservient to the whims of the Soviet Presidium, in detriment to the welfare of the Cuban people.

## In Territorial Matters

The Soviet intervention and military presence on Cuban soil, and the use of our country as a strategic vantage point within a global military system, constitute a violation of our territorial independence. With the end to Soviet military occupation of Cuba should come an updating of the treaty that now affords legality to the United States military presence in the Guantanamo Naval Base. A free Cuba will not accept the permanent military presence of any other state within its territorial boundaries without previous approval by national referendum.

## In Political Matters

Castro's tyranny has unreservedly submitted itself to the imperialist line of the Soviet Union as proved by the blatant and unconditional support of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. This proclamation of servility likewise illustrated Castro-Communism's disrespect for the universal right of self-determination and in no way represented the true feelings of the Cuban people; we follow no guidelines drawn by the Kremlin.

## In Economic Matters

The Soviet methodology, with built-in demands for rigid centralization and administration of the Cuban economy, has been imposed on Cuba against the will of its people.

By the same token, Cuba has been hand-cuffed to the concept of division of labor within the communist block -- a predicament that has deterred its economic diversification by accentuating one-crop agriculture and has reduced the island to the conditions of a client-state, mortgaged to a sole potency.

## In Cultural Matters

"The Barbarous Gospel of Hate," as Jose Marti prophetically

defined Communism, constitutes a doctrine alien and repellent to the Cuban idiosyncrasy. As the clashing, anachronistic ingraft it has revealed itself to be in our land, it will suffer the fate that history bestows upon all impositions. Under the weight of the natural and self-conceived evolution of her people, communism will crumble in Cuba.

We believe that within the American continent, as within the family of nations, each state must reaffirm the inviolate right of its territory to further and dictate its own political, economic and cultural interests without foreign intervention. Free Cubans will open their hearts and doors to any country that will respect the universal principle of national sovereignty.

## II. Individual and Collective Freedom Within a Representative Republic, in due Respect to the Full Dignity of Man.

The right to freedom of every individual or group within a representative republic, and due respect to the full dignity of every citizen, constitute the foremost, unrelenting and cardinal objective of the Cuban nation.

Any settlement or agreement is hereby repudiated which condones or endorses a government lacking the understanding that all powers and public rights must emanate from the people.

Today the Island of Cuba is commanded by a military oligarchy which rules by decree and usurps the place of law, only possible arbiter of free societies.

The price of dissent is political imprisonment. Zeal for free expression is drowned before the walls of execution. The natural need to freely and privately assemble stifles under ubiquitous vigilance. The Cuban home and family remain at the mercy of statal repression.

We resolutely combat communist tyranny, the egoism and materialism of its preachings and practice, and their destruction of any form of human solidarity.

A militarized society is incompatible with our concept of man. The dictatorial whims that nebumb the Cuban nation are totally unacceptable.

We aspire to the creation of a just, free, harmonious society; enslaved by neither poverty nor hatred; stunted by neither misery nor oppression.

## III. Indivisibility of the Nation

The Cuban nation, though dispersed, holds dear and firm its destined community. At home or away from the Island, the essence of one Cuban spirit unites us all in singular sentiments and hopes.

Despite any obstacle, extraneous or from within, the children of Cuba will build a society in peace with the world and with itself; "of all, for the good of all."

# Forgotten Europe (Continued from page 2)

and the Russians are correspondingly hated throughout the area (with the exception of Bulgaria, apparently still grateful for the Russian liberation from Turkey in 1878). Whenever speaking Russian in East Europe, I would immediately explain that I was an American student of the Russian language. This would remove the initial hostility provoked by the assumption that I was a Russian. Nevertheless, just speaking the Russian language is unpopular. A typical East European answer to the question, "govorite po-ruski (do you speak Russian)," was: "govoryu a nye khochu (I speak Russian) but don't want to."

As is evident from the Czech reaction to the deaths of the Soviet cosmonauts, anti-Russianism is most pronounced today in Czechoslovakia. An oft repeated joke concerns the Czech who comes into possession of a magic lantern and is granted three wishes by his genie. The Czech's first wish: that the entire Chinese army march to Czechoslovakia. Wish granted. His second wish: that the entire Chinese army march back to China. The genie is somewhat confused, but the wish is granted. The third wish: that the entire Chinese army march back to Czechoslovakia. The genie, now totally perplexed, asks the Czech to explain why. "Just so that the Chinese army marches across Russia three times," answers the Czech.

The international event most avidly followed in East Europe during this past summer was the Fischer-Spassky chess match, and no where in the world did Bobby Fischer have greater support than here. The Russians were losing, and the people were delighted. American embassies in East Europe wisely featured Fischer and the chess match on the display boards outside the embassies, and large groups of local citizens were often to be seen congregating there to read about the Soviet-American battle of brains.

Of course, the government controlled newspapers devoted far more attention to Spassky's wins than to those of Fischer, and in general, reports from Iceland had a distinctly pro-Soviet bias. But, in a classic example of the double edged nature of press censorship, one disgruntled East European told me: "You see how the Government controls the press - they make up all these weird stories about Fischer in order to depict him as some sort of nut!"

Anti-Russianism is hardly limited to rooting for Russia's opponents in chess. Anywhere the Russians are involved their enemy is considered an ally by East Europeans. I was wholly unprepared for the widespread support for the United States war effort in South East Asia which I encountered among East Europeans. True, many of the more aware East Europeans do oppose American policies in Vietnam, but most could not care less about Thieu, Ky, or Vietnamization. The war in Vietnam is seen as America versus Communism and Russia, and the enemy of my enemy is my friend.

The omission thus far of the three remaining Communist states of Europe - Albania, Yugoslavia, and East Germany - has been intentional. Albania has been omitted here because it is not open to American tourism, and as a Maoist beach head in Europe, it is quite unrelated to our discussion.

We have thus far neglected mention of Yugoslavia, for while Hungary might be "the happiest bunker in the camp," Yugoslavia is not in the camp at all. Aside from the all important fact that Yugoslavia has never depended upon Soviet support for the continued existence of a Communist regime, one major difference between this country and the others of East Europe is its far greater tolerance of intellectual freedom. One can immediately verify this by looking over any Yugoslav newspaper. Journals from all over the world are sold, and Yugoslav newspapers (Politika, to mention one prominent paper), though adhering strictly to Yugoslav foreign policy lines, are incomparable in the Communist world.

Free access to information is one distinguishing mark of Yugoslavia. A second is the freedom to travel to the West; and a third is the relative absence of precensorship.

A Yugoslav citizen can write more or less what he likes (in politics as well as literature), but should the regime find the piece objectionable, the writer will have to suffer the consequences.

After a prolonged stay in other East European countries, a visit to Yugoslavia can be a highly refreshing experience. Yugoslavia was described to me by a young Hungarian as the "Promised Land." This is accurate by East European standards, but let us not exaggerate the extent of freedom in Yugoslavia. There is no discernible trend in the country toward liberal democracy, or what Tito characterizes as "rotten liberalism." As a young Belgrade woman studying for her Ph.D. in Philosophy said to me concerning freedom of speech: "Ici on peut parler, mais pas le proclamer."

My travel in East Germany was very limited, but based upon what I saw and what I heard from East German tourists in other Socialist countries, the DDR (Deutsche Demokratische Republik) is a frightening place indeed. It seems to have perfected totalitarianism to a degree which in ways may even surpass the Soviet Union. Perhaps this was inevitable. As all competition with big, rich, and free West Germany was doomed to failure from the start, the East German regime had to imprison its people: physically as well as politically if it wanted Communism to survive. (The East Germans have apparently decided that there is one way in which they could compete against West Germany - through sport; that is why the Munich Olympics were, for the East Germans, a Holy War.)

During my visits to East Europe, I have often asked myself what American policies and attitudes ought to be regarding this region. I believe that there are two questions - moral and political - involved here, and their resolutions may or may not coincide. In moral terms, the issue is do we ignore 200 million East Europeans and deal with their governments as we would any other government. The political problem is twofold. On the one hand, if our overriding concern is East-West detente, then we should do nothing to upset East European stability. On the other hand, it can be argued that a restive East Europe would serve to prevent Soviet trouble-making in other areas of the world.

Obviously, it is the latter political approach which can best be reconciled with a moral outlook. Effective Western radio programming is a case in point. It offers a crucial service to millions of East Europeans, while at the same time it constitutes a potent political weapon.

Needless to say, we cannot even contemplate a forced removal of Soviet/Communist domination of East Europe. But how tragic it would be, if, owing to our moral debacle in Vietnam, we were to retreat to moral isolationism and adopt a policy of realpolitik in regions such as East Europe. As for the future of East Europe, there does not seem to be much basis for optimism. Under the East European blanket of apathy lies much pent up frustration and resentment, and unless the Soviets are prepared to allow a sort of "Finlandization" of East Europe, one can only foresee recurrent explosions (watch Poland, for example, if meat prices are raised) within the bunkers of this sad camp.

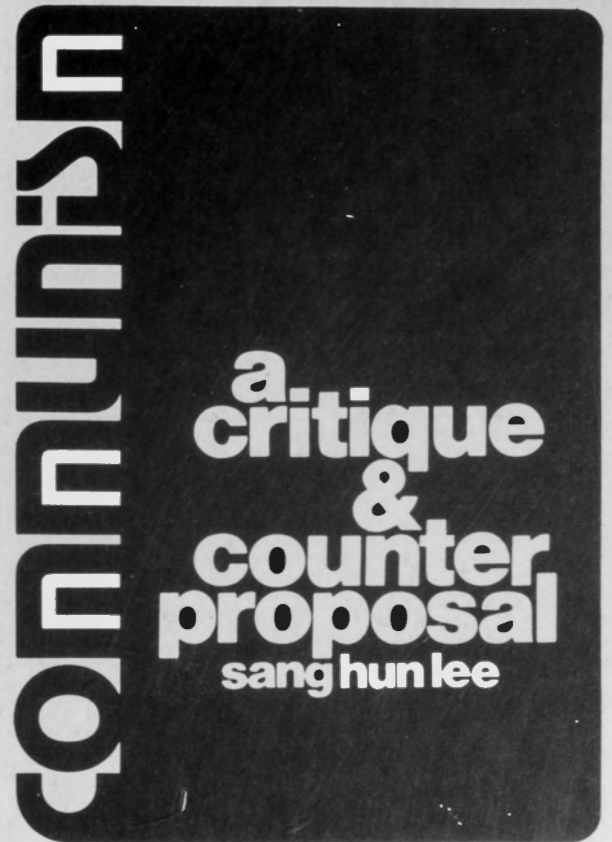
# Revolution

(Continued from page 5)

did more than celebrate a Mass or participate in religious services. By his presence, he reminded us once again of the indivisible nature of man's spirit and the eternal quest for individual liberty. The obligation upon all Americans to honor the arrival and the visit of Cardinal Mindszenty is evident, for he symbolizes our own commitment to freedom.

In the spirit of these expressions, let's rededicate ourselves today, on the 17th anniversary of our glorious Revolution, with the now unbecoming words of an other great American, John F. Kennedy, who said in his Inaugural Address: "We shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty."

# Available



# United Nations (Continued from page 1)

The Prince described some of the Khmer Rouge members of his "United National Front of Cambodia" as being "far too Stalinist," saying that he found Ieng Sary "personally antipathetic... we cannot help it."

He then accused the North Vietnamese and the Chinese of deserting him. "Our North Vietnamese friends are no longer willing to help us by transporting supplies from the Chinese to the borders of Cambodia." "They fear American retaliation" and "they want American aid," he said of the Chinese, the Prince declared. "China is now playing the big power game with the United States."

Ironically, while his foreign friends in New York are busy pushing for UN recognition of his exiled government in Peking, in the Chinese capital Prince Norodom Sihanouk held an interview with Alain Bouc of Le Monde newspaper (October 27, 1973).

"Let us admit frankly, our weakness is patent; it cannot be hidden. Despite all our victory bulletins, the Lon Nol regime is still there. If it is weak and we cannot overthrow it, we are even weaker still. If on the other hand, it is still powerful, why kill it?"

## Khmer Position

As the New York Times of October 29, 1973 wrote in its editorial, "the mischievous Chinese gambit" to seat the exiled government of Prince Sihanouk at the UN in the place of the Khmer Republic is a "flagrant intervention in the internal affairs of a member state. This is a clear violation of the UN Charter."

In fact, the Khmer Republic has been recognized by the United Nations as the sole legal representative of the Khmer people since the Republic was created in 1970.

The Khmer Republic is founded on democratic and popular bases. It was the Khmer people who, with great enthusiasm, in the historical "March of National Concord" demanded the immediate transformation of the decadent

monarchy into a Republic, which was officially proclaimed on October 9, 1970. The Khmers have been busy, despite a war imposed on them by the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong, laying the ground work for democracy by establishing republican institutions. On April 30, 1972, a republican constitution was adopted in a national referendum in which more than 80% of the population participated. On June 4, the first president of the young republic was elected by universal and direct suffrage. On September 3 and 17 the first Assembly and Senate were elected respectively.

In foreign policy, the Khmer Republic pursues a policy of peace, independence and neutrality. It maintains diplomatic and consular relations with 55 countries regardless of their system of government or ideology. A follower of the UN Charter and international agreements, the Khmer Republic is represented in 27 of the international, regional and specialized agencies of the UN.

Clearly, it is a great error for the General Assembly of the United Nations to question the legitimacy of the Khmer Republic's representation at the United Nations, supported as the Republic by a majority of Southeast Asian countries. As the Khmer President Lon Nol told the Khmer Parliament on October 23, 1973:

"Whatever may happen to us (in the General Assembly), we remain confident in our just rights and we fearlessly await the decision of the eminent United Nations regarding our problems. If the United Nations allows itself to be misled by the ignominious deception of a handful of countries that have illegally meddled in the internal problems of the Khmer Republic, by supporting the aggression of the North Vietnamese and Vietcong, and a traitor who has served their interests, then either law, justice or peace will be doomed for good and the entire mankind will unfailingly be victimized by this Mankind would then return to the law of the jungle."

America's fastest growing freedom newspaper

# The Rising Tide

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## THE RAtionalists

## by Alexius Jerome Burgess



# Mideast War Brings Cold Wind of Reality

by James Cowin

The month of October taught me a lesson. I learned that the world is not as peaceful as it may seem. In a way, my life pattern over the summer and early fall resembled that of America. I had separated myself from the rough and tumble of international politics and journalistic duels which characterize Washington, D.C., for the excitement but relative isolation of the international training center of the One World Crusade in Tarrytown, New York. There I lived the life of an ivory tower instructor, dealing with mind-racking theoretical questions which sent me on many a research expedition to New York City. But I rarely saw a paper or a news magazine, succumbing only to the overwhelming pull of the Watergate scandal. The world seemed to be going its weary way without any effect on my life, so I volunteered for the public relations campaign for the twenty-one city speaking tour of Reverend Moon, the founder of the Freedom Leadership Foundation.

**Invasion!**  
In the midst of exhausting activity in Philadelphia I heard the news-war had broken out along the Suez—a full scale invasion across the canal was in progress. I shrugged it off as exaggerated reporting. I'd heard it dozens of times before (I wasn't ready to accept the world).

Again, a friend told me: a full scale invasion across the canal and into the Golan Heights. Full mobilization by all nations involved. Again, foolishness, I thought. The Israelis will quickly defeat them. Then the world will get back to normal and the United States will return to Watergate watching and I can get on with the publicity campaign.

But the opposite happened. The Israelis were not quickly victorious; the United States and the Soviets were becoming increasingly involved; and as ceasefire time approached with its inevitable jockeying by armies of both sides to win the most advantageous position, a real crisis materialized as the Soviets were rumored to

prepare to send in paratroopers. The crisis came—President Nixon alerted United States troops around the world—and went (the Soviets decided not to send in troops). I found myself in my old office in Washington, D.C., scanning every word in every newspaper and periodical.

I had been reawakened. I perceived once again that the world lives by its own set of expectations which I as an individual had better understand and respond to or find myself without a purpose in life, or even without a country. Nations have fallen because citizens were apathetic to danger.

The world was in a spasm, crying out for help. Someone had to respond. I did what little I could and then began to observe the response of America and of the other nations.

Americans as a whole, seemed caught by surprise. Our government especially had its eyes opened. It seemed like our pattern of beliefs about the world had been disrupted.

United States leaders have appeared on past occasions to regard cease-fires, even though half-measures, as more or less permanent and that no sudden dramatic change in the situation is possible. The Suez cease-fire of 1970 was regarded as more or less indefinite since it was assumed that the Arab-Israeli stalemate would remain just that—stalemate which could be resolved at some future date.

The Arabs, however, had vowed that they would obtain the return of their land and proceeded to translate their desires into actions. The latest Mideast War was the result.

### Implications in other areas

There are other "stalemates" which remain unresolved. The North Koreans, North Vietnamese, and Communist Chinese have each vowed to unite their country under Communism. They regard such "cease-fire" arrangements made in the 1950's, or as in the case of Vietnam in 1973, in the same way as the Arabs regarded the 1970



cease-fire. In early 1972 North Korea assumed an especially warlike attitude toward the South; Communists forces are continuing military operations in South Vietnam, and Mao Tse-tung's government has been undercutting support from the Republic of China wherever possible. Also, the Mideast conflict is non-ideological. The surge of Arab pride, coupled with the realization by both sides that war is becoming too costly an alternative, has made compromise possible. The ideological disputes, however, in which Communist governments consider non-Communist governments as "enemies" of the world leave no room for compromise. The "oppressive" governments must be overthrown. The Communist aim therefore is total victory. The Vietnam fighting, which everyone was relieved to see end, may flare up again.

### Shaken Smugness

Also clearly shaken was any smugness about the sufficiency of United States weaponry development. According to reports, the U.S. has nothing like the SA-6 and SA-7 missiles which downed many Israeli Phantom jets. Traditional

tank warfare tactics proved less effective against infantrymen armed with wire-guided anti-tank missiles. Most reported naval battles were fought with ship-to-ship missiles. The United States lags a good deal behind the Soviets in development in this area.

Third, our relationship with our NATO "allies" seems due for a re-examination. In 1962, during the Cuban Missile Crisis, they united behind the United States in our confrontation with the Soviets. In October not only did they refuse to allow Americans to use their air bases for the Israeli airlift, but Greece and Turkey allowed Soviet overflights in their massive resupply of Egypt and Syria. West Germany went so far as not to allow the United States to take NATO weapons stored in Germany for shipment to Israel. These actions sparked a condemnation by United States officials on NATO countries moves to "separate publicly from us."

Understandably, Western European nations are concerned about Arab oil cutoffs. But senior Pentagon officials were reported in the *Washington Post* to remark that if the Soviet arms made possible the destruction of Israel by the Arabs, Russia would have

"its hand on the tap of the Middle Eastern oil, and NATO won't be better off anyway." "NATO defense" also includes the Mediterranean, as it is considerably less risky for the Soviets to paralyze NATO through cutting off oil supplies than to wipe out Europe by frontal assault. Weapons for Israel are obviously vital to NATO defense. The West German government is either guilty of "Maginot Line thinking," or extreme panic. The repercussions from this "difference of opinion" will bear watching.

Fourth, and perhaps most important, was the abandonment, albeit temporary, of the policy of "pragmatic neutralism" in the Middle East. The conflict has been described as "one of two rights, not simply a right and wrong." But the various approaches to this conflict can be either right or wrong. Whatever Israel's abuses of its hold of Arab land, it still has the right to exist as a nation. Its claim, however, is that the Arabs seek to deny it this right.

The U.S., by our airlift of arms to Israel, coupled with our push for a ceasefire including a provision for seeking a lasting peace, has demonstrated its commitment to Israel's existence and to peace in the Middle East. This appears to be a wise policy, although its implementation may result in American inconvenience as a result of the Arab oil boycott. It is hoped that Americans demonstrate to the world that we are prepared to sacrifice our comforts and even our friendships, if the situation warrants, for the promotion of justice and freedom throughout the world.

### Detente?

Finally, and most far-reaching, top American leaders must do some soul-searching about the nature of detente—is it an end in itself, or a means to an end? If the end is detente, it appears to be unsatisfactory to the Soviets trained, equipped, coordinated and encouraged the Arab armies. Detente with the Soviets evidently cannot

prevent the free nations of the West from being outflanked by Communist forces. If the end is peace, will U.S.-Soviet detente achieve it? Again, an analysis is in order. Detente evidently does not entail cooperation with the U.S. when the Soviets can make progress toward the traditionally proclaimed aim of conquering the world for Communism. President Nixon obviously felt that the Soviets, despite assurances to the contrary, would strike against the free world if the need and opportunity so arose. The need was obvious: the trapped Egyptian Third Army was only days away from wholesale surrender. The Watergate chaos appeared to tie down the American government. Hence, President Nixon decided to act quickly to leave no room for doubt in Chairman Brezhnev's mind that Soviet combat troops in the Mideast would bring about a U.S. response in kind.

The crisis quickly passed as U.S. troops went on the alert and the President received support in Congress. The Soviets achieved their cease fire and the Third Army was saved. But what will the Soviets seek now? They urged the oil boycott of the West and they urged all Arab nations to join the battle. The concept of detente may have to be modified to fit the realities of the Mideast situation.

The Mideast War provided a preview of coming events. It revealed national attitudes under conditions of stress. The Soviet role in the Arab attack must not be forgotten. Neither must the response by the NATO countries. Because the war achieved nothing decisive, the U.S. has been spared the "It's too late, now" feelings in the wake of events like Czechoslovakia in 1968 or Soviet violations of the Suez cease-fire in August, 1970. We can still influence the outcome of this struggle, if Americans support our government with the knowledge of the urgency of the situation and the will to sacrifice to see justice done. Then we will be fulfilling our responsibilities to the world and especially to the nations who have paid for our help with their blood.

## "New Hope for America"

(Continued from page 3)

the son of God, why do you not save yourself? Come down, save yourself and me! Jesus gave him no answer. The thief on the right came to His defense, saying to the thief on the left, 'you are a criminal, you deserve the death, but this man in the center, this righteous Jesus, had no sin and does not deserve the same death that we have.' The right-hand thief performed a noble deed; at the moment of his death, he forgot his own well-being to defend Jesus, and Jesus said to him, 'Truly, truly, I say to you, you will be with me in paradise today.' From Jesus the seed was sown that the godless world of Communism would come into being as the symbol of the left-hand side of the seed. And the right-hand side emerged as a God-fearing ideology. We are in the position of the right-hand side of the seed," Reverend Moon said in a dramatic moment, "and the center of that free world, that right-hand side, is God's champion, America." Reverend Moon went on to say that America's moral

mission as that champion is to defend God, as the right-hand thief defended Jesus, against Communism. But, he added, America is sinking in self-centered interests. God is beginning to leave America, he proclaimed, and tragedy is hitting hard in ways never dreamt of before. He pointed out that the American spirit has been declining since the deaths of Kennedy and Hammerskjold in the same year.

He also pointed to the failure of the Christian churches of today to meet their responsibility in a powerful, selfless way. They are too caught up in attending and protecting their own denominational interests to concern themselves with sacrifice and service, with unity and a willingness to die for the sake of the world as Jesus did. Because of their defensive self-centeredness, he noted, today's churches are losing God's power, young people are noticing the loss of life in established Christianity and are turning away in droves. At an especially powerful point of his lecture, Reverend Moon asked his

audience, "Who can be responsible for this country? Raise your hands. American churches are losing young people, and the future of America depends on its young people. There is a revolution come, a revolution of man, in America—individualism must be tied to a God-centered ideology. Who is going to do this? The American president? The rich? The churches?"

Toward the end of his lecture, Reverend Moon stated that he had come to America to initiate a new pilgrim movement here. This could not be done in Korea, his native nation, because, he said, any other place than America for God's base would delay His plan for world salvation. Service, he said, must be the key to bringing God back to America. In a reference to the seeming omnipresence of Unification Church members on the streets in recent days, he said, "Our young people greeted you everywhere, every one of you — one time, two times, three times — you are almost sick and tired of them.

But put yourselves in their position but why are they doing it? For money? 85% of our young people are graduates from colleges and universities; they are capable of earning many thousands of dollars a year, but instead they are out on the streets, asking you to come. Theirs is a compassionate heart, filled with only one purpose — they want to save America, to bring God back, and to save the world. They are here to rekindle America's spirit."

Reverend Moon closed his warmly received discussion speaking about the hope he saw ahead for this country. "We need a new dimensional movement of pilgrim fathers for your country. It is inevitable because God left no alternative for America. New pilgrim fathers come to America, not for America, but for a world-wide scale. In other words, the pilgrim fathers movement for the world must begin in this country. America is the base and America will do that. You will be eternally blessed. This is God's hope for America."

## "A new page..."

(Continued from page 5)

Hitler ended a dream of two hundred years in the making. The end of Czechoslovakia introduced into the world dictionary an old word with a new meaning, called Munich. It meant not only the destruction of democracy but proved beyond doubt that appeasement of evil does not work, as the allied powers soon discovered to their sorrow when the world was plunged in a Second World War.

March 15, 1938, meant the end of the Czechoslovak Republic and dark days for its people. Again ensued a life and death struggle for their freedom — another town, Lidice, became a dreadful symbol of the true meaning of Nazism.

With the end of World War II, the people, led by Dr. Edward Benes, again in exile, through heroic resistance at home and with a volunteer army in the allied world, again regained their freedom. However, it did not last long. The Soviet Union on February 20th, 1948, through direct intervention helped end the short period of twilight democracy. Czechoslovakia found itself completely in the Soviet orbit.

Then began again the uneven struggle of the people of Czechoslovakia to regain their freedoms, at least partially. Only five years ago, people of Eastern Europe, particularly the youth, looked with envy on the way the Czechoslovaks were trying to liberalize their lives under the shadow of the Soviets with the advent of the so-called Dubcek era. But that period did not last long. Again Czechoslovakia had to prove to the world through great sacrifices that Soviets would not permit their satellites to enjoy freedom, in spite of their efforts to eliminate the specter of the cold war, as they called it. On August 20th, 1968 the mighty Soviet Army, assisted by the other Communist states, namely East Germany, Poland and Hungary, invaded Czechoslovakia and occupied its capitol, Praha. A large portion of the Soviet Army is still stationed in that unfortunate land. The strict system of Communist regimentation was imposed and still is upon the restless people.

This is the situation in which Czechoslovakia finds itself today when we commemorate the 55th anniversary of its rebirth. The New York Times states and I quote: "From the perspective of a half-decade, the brutal Soviet reconquest of Czechoslovakia appears to have been the tiny lever which moved the international balance of power more drastically than anything that has happened since the late nineteen forties."

Or again, quoting the Times, "The European detente in short has been largely peace on Moscow's terms. And acceptance of those terms was finally forced by the demonstration in Czechoslovakia of what Moscow was prepared to do to those who opposed its will in Eastern Europe."

Czechoslovakia itself, of course, is today a completely subservient state, again quoting the Times, "whose rulers are the tens of thousands of Soviet troops stationed temporarily within its borders."

"Even more important from Moscow's point of view, the swift reconquest of Czechoslovakia ended all Western hopes of peaceful liberation of Eastern Europe. The Brezhnev Doctrine was understood correctly to mean that Eastern Europe is and will remain for the indefinite future the sole property of the Soviet Union. The West accepted this doctrine." — Shades of a new Munich —

Those of us who believe in democracy and social justice hope and believe that this view will not prevail, for to paraphrase Abraham Lincoln, "the world cannot exist half free and slave." If peace is to be achieved on this earth, all nations and individuals must have the right to live their own lives and must be guaranteed all their basic freedoms. Otherwise, there will always be wars, fears of wars, and international turmoil.

Thus on this day when we commemorate the 55th anniversary of the short rebirth of Czechoslovakia, we must work for the day when all nations will be free to pursue their own destiny according to the will of their people—unhindered by the greater powers, unhampered by the destinies of their neighbors—and when all will find their rightful place in the real family of free nations of the world.

## Dialectical

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activities, which are, obviously, productive labor. Perception is for labor and activity; it is inseparable from them. According to Engels, "Sentient activities, ceaseless sentient labor and creation, these productions are indeed the basis of the existing sentient world" (Marx, Engels, Deutsche Ideologies).

In brief, the Communist view of man is that he is a higher animal, a social being engaged in social labor, and a historical being creating history through his activity. The characters of men are not necessarily equal, the character, personality and rights of man being products of social labor.



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